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ANTICIPATIONS: AN EXPERIMENT IN PROPHECY.—I.

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I.—Locomotion in the Twentieth Century.

It is proposed in this series of papers to present in as orderly an arrangement as the necessarily diffused nature of the subject admits, certain speculations about the trend of present forces, speculations which, taken all together, will build up an imperfect and very hypothetical but sincerely intended forecast of the way things will probably go in this new century.

It is extremely convenient to begin with a speculation upon the probable developments and changes of the means of land locomotion during the coming decades. No one who has studied the civil history of the nineteenth century will deny how far-reaching the consequences of changes in transit may be.

The beginning of this twentieth century happens to coincide with a very interesting phase in that great development of means of land transit that has been the distinctive feature (speaking materially) of the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century, when it takes its place with the other centuries in the chronological charts of the future, will, if it needs a symbol, almost inevitably have as that symbol a steam engine running upon a

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railway. This period covers the first experiments, the first great developments, and the complete elaboration of that mode of transit, and the determination of nearly all the broad features of this century's history may be traced directly or indirectly to that process. And since an interesting light is thrown upon the new phases in land locomotion that are now beginning, it will be well to begin this forecast with a retrospection, and to revise very shortly the history of the addition of steam travel to the resources of mankind.

It was, indeed, not one cause, but a very complex and unprecedented set of causes, set the steam locomotive going. It was indirectly that the introduction of coal became the decisive factor. One peculiar condition of its production in England seems to have supplied just one ingredient that had been missing for two thousand years in the group of conditions that were necessary before the steam locomotive could appear.

This missing ingredient was a demand for some comparatively simple, profitable machine, upon which the elementary principles of steam utilization could be worked out. It happened that the coal to replace the dwindling forests of this small and exceptionally rain-saturated country occurs in low, hollow basins overlying clay, and not, as in China and the Alleghanies, for example, on high-lying outcrops, that can be worked as chalk is worked in England. From this fact it followed that some quite unprecedented pumping appliances became necessary, and the thoughts of practical men were turned thereby to the long-neglected possibilities of steam. Steam had already been used for pumping upon one or two estates in England—rather as a toy than in earnest—before the middle of the seventeenth century. Savery, Newcomen, a host of other workers culminating in Watt, changed this toy of steam into a real, a commercial thing, developed a trade in pumping engines, created foundries and a new art of engineering, and almost unconscious of what they were doing, made the steam locomotive a well-nigh unavoidable consequence. At last, after a century of improvement on pumping engines, there remained nothing but the very obvious stage of getting the engine that had been developed on wheels and out upon the ways of the world.

Ever and again during the eighteenth century an engine would be put upon the roads and pronounced a failure—one

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monstrous Palæoferric creature was visible on a French high road as early as 1769—but by the dawn of the nineteenth century the problem had very nearly got itself solved. By 1804, Trevithick had a steam locomotive indisputably in motion and almost financially possible, and from his hands it puffed its way, slowly at first, and then, under Stephenson, faster and faster, to a transitory empire over the earth. It was a steam locomotive—but for all that it was primarily a *steam engine for pumping* adapted to a new end; it was a steam engine whose ancestral stage had developed under conditions that were by no means exacting in the matter of weight. It was all too huge and heavy for the high road—it had to be put upon rails.

Railway travelling is at best a compromise. The quite conceivable ideal of locomotive convenience is surely a highly mobile conveyance capable of travelling easily and swiftly to any desired point, traversing, at a reasonably controlled pace, the ordinary roads and streets, and having access for higher rates of speed and long-distance travelling to specialized ways restricted to swift traffic. Such a system would admit of that secular progress in engines and vehicles that the stereotyped conditions of the railway have almost completely arrested, because it would allow almost any conceivable new pattern to be put at once upon the ways without interference with the established traffic. Had such an ideal been kept in view from the first the traveller would now be able to get through his long-distance journeys at a pace of from seventy miles or more an hour without changing, and without any of the trouble, waiting, expense and delay that arise between the household or hotel and the actual rail.

But there was a more obvious path of development and one immediately cheaper, and along that path went short-sighted Nineteenth Century Progress. The first locomotives, apart from the heavy tradition of their ancestry, were needlessly clumsy and heavy, and their inventors, instead of working for lightness and smoothness of motion, took the easier course of placing them upon the tramways that were already in existence—chiefly for the transit of heavy goods over soft roads.

These tram-lines very naturally had exactly the width of an ordinary cart, a width prescribed by the strength of one horse. Few people saw in the locomotive anything but a cheap substitute for horseflesh, or found anything incongruous in letting the

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dimensions of a horse determine the dimensions of an engine. It mattered nothing that from the first the passenger was ridiculously cramped, hampered and crowded in the carriage. He had always been cramped in a coach, and it would have seemed "Utopian" to propose travel without cramping. By mere inertia the horse-cart gauge, the four feet eight and one-half inch gauge, *nemine contradicente,* established itself in the world, and now everywhere the train is dwarfed to a scale that limits alike its comfort, power and speed.

This vast and elaborate railway system of ours, by which the whole world is linked together, is really only a vast system of trains of horse-wagons and coaches drawn along rails by pumping-engines upon wheels. Is that to remain the predominant method of land locomotion?

It is very doubtful if the railways will ever attempt any very fundamental change in the direction of greater speed or facility, unless they are first exposed to the pressure of our second alternative, competition, and we may go on to inquire how long will it be before that second alternative comes into operation.

The abounding presence of numerous experimental motors to-day is so stimulating to the imagination, there are so many stimulated persons at work upon them, that it is difficult to believe the obvious impossibility of most of them, their convulsiveness, clumsiness, and (in many cases) exasperating trail of stench will not be rapidly fined away. I do not think that it is asking too much of the reader's faith in progress to assume that so far as a light, powerful engine goes, comparatively noiseless, smooth-running, not obnoxious to sensitive nostrils, and altogether suitable for high-road traffic, the problem will very speedily be solved. And upon that assumption, in what direction are these new motor vehicles likely to develop? how will they react upon the railways? and where finally will they take us?

At present they seem to promise developments upon three distinct and definite lines.

There will, first of all, be the motor truck for heavy traffic. Already such trucks are in evidence distributing goods and parcels of various sorts. And sooner or later, no doubt, the numerous advantages of such an arrangement will lead to the organization of large carrier companies, using such motor trucks to carry goods in bulk or parcels on the high roads.

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In the next place, and parallel with the motor truck, there will develop the hired or privately owned motor carriage. This, for all except the longest journeys, will add a fine sense of personal independence to all the small conveniences of first-class railway travel. It will be capable of a day's journey of three hundred miles or more. One will change nothing—unless it is the driver—from stage to stage. One will be free to dine where one chooses, hurry when one chooses, travel asleep or awake, stop and pick flowers, turn over in bed of a morning and tell the carriage to wait—unless one sleeps aboard.

And, thirdly, there will be the motor omnibus, developing out of the horse omnibus companies and the suburban lines.

The motor omnibus companies competing against the suburban railways will find themselves hampered in the speed of their longer runs by the slower horse traffic on their routes, and they will attempt to secure, and, it may be, after tough legislative struggles, will secure the power to form private roads of a new sort, upon which their vehicles will be free to travel up to the limit of their very highest possible speed. It is along the line of such private tracks and roads that the forces of change will certainly tend to travel.

Once this process of segregation from the high road of the horse and pedestrian sets in, it will probably go on rapidly. The motor carrier companies competing in speed of delivery with the quickened railways will conceivably co-operate with the long-distance omnibus and the hired carriage companies in the formation of *trunk* lines.

These special roads will be very different from macadamized roads; they will be used only by soft-tired conveyances; the battering horseshoes, the perpetual filth of horse traffic, and the clumsy wheels of laden carts will never wear them. It may be that they will have a surface like that of some cycle-racing tracks, though since they will be open to wind and weather, it is perhaps more probable they will be made of very good asphalt sloped to drain, and still more probable that they will be of some quite new substance altogether. They will be just as wide as the courage of their promoters goes, and if the first made are too narrow there will be no question of gauge to limit the later ones. Their traffic in opposite directions will probably be strictly separated. The promoters will doubtless take a hint from suburban railway

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traffic, and where their ways branch the streams of traffic will not cross at a level but by bridges. It is easily conceivable that once these tracks are in existence, cyclists and motors other than those of the constructing companies will be able to make use of them. And, moreover, once they exist it will be possible to experiment with vehicles of a size and power quite beyond the dimensions prescribed by our ordinary roads—roads whose width has been entirely determined by the size of a cart a horse can pull.

Countless modifying influences will, of course, come into operation. For example, it has been assumed, perhaps rashly, that the railway influence will certainly remain jealous and hostile to these growths. But once one of these specialized lines is in operation, it may be that some at least of the railway companies will hasten to replace their flanged rolling stock by carriages with rubber tires, remove their rails, broaden their cuttings and embankments, raise their bridges, and take to the new ways of traffic. Or they may find it answer to cut fares, widen their gauges, reduce their gradients, modify their points and curves, and woo the passenger back with carriages beautifully hung and sumptuously furnished, and all the convenience and luxury of a club.

And it may be that many railways, which are neither capable of modification into suburban motor tracks, nor of development into luxurious through routes, will find, in spite of the loss of many elements of their old activity, that there is still a profit to be made from a certain section of the heavy goods traffic, and from cheap excursions. There are forms of work for which railways seem to be particularly adapted, and which the diversion of a great portion of their passenger traffic would enable them to conduct even more efficiently.

It must always be remembered that at the worst the defeat of such a great organization as the railway system does not involve its disappearance until a long period has elapsed. It means at first no more than a period of modification and differentiation.

Almost certainly the existing lines of railway will develop and differentiate, some in one direction and some in another, according to the nature of the pressure upon them. Almost all will probably be still in existence and in divers ways busy a hundred years from now.

But in the discussion of all questions of land locomotion one must come at last to the knots of the network, to the central por-

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tions of the towns, the dense, vast towns of our time, with their high ground-values and their narrow, already almost impossible streets. At present the streets of many larger towns present a quite unprecedented state of congestion. When the Green of some future *History of the English People* comes to review our times, he will, from his standpoint of comfort and convenience, find the present streets of London quite or even more incredibly unpleasant than are the filthy kennels, the mudholes and darkness of the streets of the seventeenth century to our enlightened minds. He will echo our question, "Why *did* people stand it?" He will be struck first of all by the omnipresence of mud, filthy mud, churned up by hoofs and wheels under the inclement skies, and perpetually defiled and added to by innumerable horses. "Just where the bicycle might have served its most useful purpose," he will write, "in affording a healthy daily ride to the innumerable clerks and such-like sedentary toilers of the central region, it was rendered impossible by the danger of side-slip in this vast ferocious traffic." And, indeed, to my mind at least, this last is the crowning absurdity of the present state of affairs, that the clerk and the shop hand, classes of people positively starved of exercise, should be obliged to spend yearly the price of a bicycle upon a season-ticket, because of the quite unendurable inconvenience and danger of urban cycling.

Now in what direction will things move in the matter? The first and most obvious thing to do, the thing that in many cases is being attempted and in a futile, insufficient way getting itself done, is the remedy of the architect and builder to widen the streets and to cut "new arteries." Now, every new artery means a series of new whirlpools of traffic, and unless colossal, or inconveniently steep, crossing-bridges are made, the wider the affluent arteries the more terrible the battle of the traffic. And there is the value of the ground to consider.

There is, however, quite another direction in which the congestion may find relief, and that is in the "regulation" of the traffic. This has already begun in London in an attack on the crawling cab and in the new by-laws of the London County Council, whereby certain specified forms of heavy traffic are prohibited the use of the streets between ten and seven. The presence of all the chief constituents of the vehicular torrent, the cabs and hansoms, the vans, the omnibuses—everything, indeed,

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except the few private carriages—are as novel, as distinctively things of the nineteenth century, as the railway train and the needle telegraph. The streets of the great towns of antiquity, the streets of the great towns of the East, the streets of all the mediæval towns, were not intended for any sort of wheeled traffic at all—were designed primarily and chiefly for pedestrians.

But if one reflects, it becomes clear that, save for the vans of goods, this moving tide of wheeled masses is still essentially a stream of urban pedestrians, pedestrians who, by reason of the distances they have to go, have had to jump on 'buses and take cabs—in a word, to bring in the high road to their aid. And the vehicular traffic of the street is essentially the high-road traffic very roughly adapted to the new needs. The cab is a simple development of the carriage, the omnibus of the coach, and the supplementary traffic of the underground and electric railways is an adaptation of the long-route railway.

Now, the first most probable development is a change in the omnibus and the omnibus railway. A point quite as important with these means of transit as actual speed of movement is frequency. *The more frequent a local service, the more it comes to be relied upon.* Another point—and one in which the omnibus has a great advantage over the railway—is that it should be possible to get on and off at any point, or at as many points on the route as possible. But this means a high proportion of stoppages, and this is destructive to speed. There is, however, one conceivable means of transit that is not simply frequent but continuous, that may be joined or left at any point without a stoppage, that could be adapted to many existing streets at the level or quite easily sunken in tunnels, or elevated above the street level, and that means of transit is the moving platform. Let us imagine the inner circle of the District Railway adapted to this conception. I will presume that the Parisian "rolling platform" is familiar to the reader. The District Railway tunnel is, I imagine, about twenty-four feet wide. If we suppose the space given to six platforms of three feet wide and one (the most rapid) of six feet, and if we suppose each platform to be going four miles an hour faster than its slower fellow, we should have the upper platform running round the circle at a pace of twenty-eight miles an hour. If further we adopt an ingenious suggestion of Professor Perry's and imagine the descent to the line made down

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a very slowly rotating staircase at the centre of a big rotating wheel-shaped platform, against a portion of whose rim the slowest platform runs in a curve, one could very easily add a speed of six or eight miles an hour more, and to that the man in a hurry would be able to add his own four miles an hour by walking in the direction of motion. If the reader is a traveller, and if he will imagine that black and sulphurous tunnel, swept and garnished, lit and sweet, with a train much faster than the existing underground trains perpetually ready to go off with him and never crowded—if he will further imagine this train a platform set with comfortable seats and neat bookstalls and so forth, he will get an inkling in just one detail of what he perhaps misses by living now instead of thirty or forty years ahead.

Will this diversion of the vast omnibus traffic of to-day into the air and underground, together with the segregation of van traffic to specific routes and times, be the only change in the streets of the new century? It may be a shock, perhaps, to some minds, but I must confess I do not see what is to prevent the process of elimination that is beginning now with the heavy vans spreading until it covers all horse traffic, and with the disappearance of horse hoofs and the necessary filth of horses, the road surface may be made a very different thing from what it is at present, better drained and admirably adapted for the soft-tired hackney vehicles and the torrent of cyclists.

II.—The Probable Diffusion of Great Cities.

The broad features of the redistribution of the population that has characterized the nineteenth century may be summarized as an unusual growth of great cities and a slight tendency to depopulation in the country. The growth of the great cities is the essential phenomenon. These aggregates having populations of from eight hundred thousand upward to four and five millions, are certainly, so far as the world outside the limits of the Chinese Empire goes, entirely an unprecedented thing.

Now, is this growth of large towns really, as we allege, a result of the development of railways in the world, or is it simply a change in human circumstances that happens to have arisen at the same time? It needs only a very general review of the conditions of the distribution of population to realize that the former is probably the true answer.

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It will be convenient to make the issue part of a more general proposition, namely, that *the general distribution of population in a country must always be directly dependent on transport facilities.* To illustrate this point roughly we may build up an imaginary community by considering its needs. Over an arable country-side, for example, inhabited by a people who have attained agriculture, in which war was no longer constantly imminent, the population would, of course, be diffused primarily by families and groups in farmsteads. It might, if it were a very simple population, be almost all so distributed. But even the simplest agriculturists find a certain convenience in trade. Certain definite points would be convenient for such local trade and intercourse as the people found desirable, and here it is that there would arise the germ of a town.

Now, if this meeting place was more than a certain distance from any particular farm, it would be inconvenient for that farmer to get himself and his produce there and back and to do his business in a comfortable daylight; and, instead, he would either have to go to some other nearer centre to trade and gossip with his neighbors, or, failing this, not go at all. Evidently, then, there would be a maximum distance between such places. This distance in England, where traffic has been mainly horse traffic for many centuries, seems to have worked out, according to the gradients and so forth, at from eight to fifteen miles, and at each distance do we find the country towns, while the horseless man, the serf, and the laborer and laboring wench have marked their narrow limits in the distribution of the intervening villages. And so it is, entirely as a multiple of horse and foot strides, that all the villages and towns of the world's country-side have been plotted out.

A third, and almost final, factor determining town distribution in a world without railways, would be the seaport and the navigable river. Ports would grow into dimensions dependent on the population of the conveniently accessible coasts (or river banks), and on the quality and quantity of their products, and near these ports, as the conveniences of civilization increased, would appear handicraft towns, (the largest possible towns of a foot-and-horse civilization) with industries of such a nature as the produce of their coasts required.

And now to consider and work out the process of redistribu-

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tion, which is, and for at least seven decades has been steadily in progress.

At the first sight, it might appear as though the result of the new developments was simply to increase the number of giant cities in the world by rendering them possible in regions where they had hitherto been impossible; but in all probability they are destined to such a process of dissection and diffusion as to amount almost to obliteration, so far, at least, as the blot on the map goes, within a measurable further space of years.

So far as we can judge without a close and uncongenial scrutiny of statistics, the daily journey that has governed and still to a very considerable extent governs the growth of cities, has had, and probably always will have, a maximum limit of two hours, one hour each way from sleeping place to council chamber, counter, workroom, or office stool. And taking this assumption as sound, we can state precisely the maximum area of various types of town. A pedestrian agglomeration, such as were probably in most of the European towns before the nineteenth century, would be swept entirely by a radius of four miles about the business quarter and the industrial centre. Of course, in the case of a navigable river, for example, the commercial centre might be elongated into a line and the circle of the city modified into an ellipse with a long diameter considerably exceeding eight miles, as, for example, in the instance of Hankow.

If, now, horseflesh is brought into the problem, an outer radius of six or eight miles from the centre will define a larger area in which the carriage folk, the hackney users, the omnibus customers, and their domestics and domestic camp followers may live and still be members of the city. Toward that limit London was already probably moving at the accession of Queen Victoria.

And then there came suddenly the railway and the steamship. For a time neither of these inventions was applied to the needs of intra-urban transit at all. For a time they were purely centripetal forces. They worked simply to increase the general volume of trade—to increase, that is, the pressure of population upon the urban centres. As a consequence the social history of the middle and later third of the nineteenth century, not simply in England but all over the civilized world, is the history of a gigantic rush of population into the magic radius of—for most people—four miles.

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These new forces, at present still so potently centripetal in their influence, bring with them, nevertheless, the distinct promise of a centrifugal application that may be finally equal to the complete reduction of all our present congestions.

We are on the eve of a great development of centrifugal possibilities. And since it has been shown that a city of pedestrians is inexorably limited by a radius of about four miles, and that a horse-using city may grow out to seven or eight, it follows that the available area of a city which can offer a cheap suburban journey of thirty miles an hour is a circle with a radius of thirty miles. And is it too much, therefore, to expect that the available area for even the common daily toilers of the great city of the year 2000, or earlier, will have a radius very much larger even than that? Now, a circle with a radius of thirty miles gives an area of over 2,800 square miles, which is almost a quarter that of Belgium. But thirty miles is only a very moderate estimate of speed, and the available area for the social equivalent of the favored season-ticket holders of to-day will have a radius of over one hundred miles, and be almost equal to the area of Ireland. The radius that will sweep the area available for such as now live in the outer suburbs will include a still vaster area. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the vast stretch of country from Washington to Albany will be all of it "available" to the active citizen of New York and Philadelphia before that date.

This does not for a moment imply that cities of the density of our existing great cities will spread to these limits. The great city cannot grow, except as a result of some quite morbid and transitory process—to be cured at last by famine and disorder—beyond the area it commands commercially. Long before the population of this city, with its inner circle a third of the area of Belgium, rose toward the old-fashioned city density, this restriction would come in.

How far will this possible diffusion accomplish itself? Let us first consider the case of those classes that will be free to exercise a choice in the matter. What will be the forces acting upon the prosperous household, the household with a working head and four hundred pounds a year and upward to live upon, in the days to come? First, let us weigh the centrifugal attractions.

The first of these is what is known as the passion for nature, that passion for hillside, wind, and sea that is evident in so many

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people nowadays, either frankly expressed or disguising itself as a passion for golfing, fishing, hunting, yachting, or cycling; and, secondly, there is the allied charm of cultivation, and especially of gardening. Through that we come to a third factor, that craving for a little private emporium such as a house or cottage "in its own grounds" affords; and from that we pass on to the intense desire so many women feel—and just the women, too, who will mother the future—their almost instinctive demand, indeed, for a separate sacred and distinctive household, built and ordered after their own hearts, such as in its fulness only the country-side permits. Add to these things the healthfulness of the country for young children, and the wholesome isolation that is possible from much that irritates, stimulates prematurely, and corrupts in crowded cities, and the chief positive centrifugal inducements are stated, inducements that no progress of inventions, at any rate, can ever seriously weaken. What now are the centripetal forces against which these inducements contend?

In the first place, there are a group of forces that will diminish in strength. There is at present the greater convenience of "shopping." All the inner and many of the outer suburbs of London obtain an enormous proportion of the ordinary household goods from half a dozen huge firms each of which has elaborated a very efficient system of taking orders and delivering goods. Collectively these great businesses have been able to overwhelm the small suburban general tradesman. But it is doubtful if the delivery organization of these great stores is any more permanent than the token coinage of the tradespeople of the last century. With the organization of a public parcels and goods delivery on cheap and sane lines in the place of our present complex, stupid, confusing, untrustworthy and fantastically costly chaos of post-office, railways and carriers, it is quite conceivable that Messrs. Omnium will give place again to specialized shops.

A second important centripetal consideration at present is the desirability of access to good schools and to the doctor. But access, be it noted, is another word for transit. It is doubtful if these two needs will so much keep people close to the great city centres as draw them together about secondary centres. New centres they may be in many cases; but also, it may be, in many cases the more healthy and picturesque of the existing small towns will develop a new life.

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A third centripetal force is the love of the crowd; and closely allied to it is that love of the theatre which holds so many people in bondage to the Strand. Moreover, interweaving with these influences are other more egotistical and intenser motives, the love of dress, the love of the crush, the hot passion for the promenade. To a certain extent, this group of tendencies may lead to the formation of new secondary centres within the "available" area, theatrical and musical centres—centres of extreme Fashion and Selectness, centres of smartness and opulent display; but it is probable that for the large number of people throughout the world who cannot afford to maintain households in duplicate these will be for many years yet strictly centripetal forces, and will keep them within the radius marked by whatever will be the future equivalent in length of, say, the present two shilling cab ride in London.

Enough now has been said to determine the general nature of the expansion of the great cities in the future so far as the more prosperous classes are concerned.

And now how will the increase in the facilities of communication we have assumed affect the condition of those whose circumstances are more largely dictated by economic forces? The mere diffusion of a large portion of the prosperous and relatively free, and the multiplication of various types of road and mechanical traction, mean, of course, that in this way alone a perceptible diffusion of the less independent classes will occur. To the subsidiary centres will be drawn doctor and schoolmaster and various dealers in fresh provisions, baker, grocer, butcher; or, if they are already established there they will flourish more and more, and about them the convenient home of the future, with its numerous electrical and mechanical appliances, and the various bicycles, motor-cars, photographic and phonographic apparatus that will be included in its equipment will gather a population of repairers, "accessory" dealers and working engineers, a growing class which from its necessary intelligence and numbers may play a rather conspicuous part in the social development of the twentieth century. And the sons of the cottager within the affected area will develop into the skilled vegetable or flower gardeners, the skilled ostler (with some veterinary science), and so forth, for whom also there will evidently be work and a living. And dotted at every convenient position along the new roads, availing

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themselves no doubt whenever possible of the picturesque inns that the old coaching days have left us, will be wayside restaurants and teahouses, and motor and cycle stores, and repair places. So much diffusion is practically inevitable.

In addition, as we have already intimated, many Londoners in the future may abandon the city office altogether, preferring to do their business in more agreeable surroundings. Such a business as book publishing, for example, has no unbreakable bonds to keep it in the region of high rent and congested streets. And the withdrawing publishers may very well take with them the printers and binders, and attract about them their illustrators and designers.

Publishing is, however, only one of the many similar trades equally profitable and equally likely to move outward to secondary centres with the development and cheapening of transit. It is all a question of transit.

The telephone will almost certainly prove a very potent auxiliary indeed to the forces making for diffusion. Consider all that lies within its possibilities. Almost all the labor of ordinary shopping can be avoided. The mistress of the house has all her local tradesmen, all the great London shops, the circulating library, the theatre box-office, the post-office and cab rank, the nurses' institute and the doctor, within reach of her hand. The business man may sit at home in his library and bargain, discuss, promise, hint, threaten, tell such lies as he dare not write, and in fact do everything that once demanded a personal encounter.

But the diffusion of the prosperous, independent and managing classes involves in itself a very considerable diffusion of the purely "working" classes also. Their centres of occupation will be distributed, and their freedom to live at some little distance from their work will be increased.

Enough has been said to demonstrate that old "town" and "city" will be, in truth, terms as obsolete as "mail coach." For these new areas that will grow out of them we want a term, and the administrative "urban district" presents itself with a convenient air of suggestion. We may for our present purposes call these coming town provinces "urban regions." Practically, by a process of confluence, the whole of Great Britain south of the Highlands seems destined to become such an urban region, laced all together not only by railway, telegraph and novel roads, but

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by a dense network of telephones, parcels delivery tubes, and the like nervous and arterial connections.

III.—Developing Social Elements.

And now we come to consider the question of the general facies of the population that will be so distributed. The mere difference in thickness and facility of movement, alone, will involve consequences remarkable enough, as a later one of these papers will aim to show; but there are certain still broader features in the social order of the coming time, less intimately related to transit, that it will be convenient to concentrate upon at this stage. These are, essentially, outcomes of the enormous development of mechanism which has been the cardinal feature of the nineteenth century.

Throughout the world, for forty centuries, the more highly developed societies have always presented, under a considerable variety of superficial difference, certain features in common. Always at the base of the edifice, supporting all and subordinate to all—the most necessary of all—there has been the working cultivator, peasant, serf or slave. Save for a little water power, a little use of windmills, the traction of a horse or mule, this class has been the source of all the work upon which the community depends. And, moreover, whatever labor town developments have demanded has been supplied by the muscle of its fecund ranks. It was, in fact—and to some extent still is—the multitudinous, living machinery of the old social order; it carried, cropped, tilled, built and made. And, directing, and sometimes owning, this human machinery, there has always been a superior class, bound—usually by a point of honor—not to toil, often warlike, often equestrian and sometimes cultivated. These two primary classes may and do become in many cases complicated by subdivisions; the peasant class may split into farmers and laborers, the gentlemen admit a series of grades and orders—kings, dukes, earls and the like; but the broad distinction remained intact, as though it were a distinction residing in the nature of things.

From the very dawn of history until the first beginnings of organized mechanism in the eighteenth century, this simple scheme of orders was the universal organization of all but savage humanity; and the chief substance of all history, until these later years, has been, in essence, the perpetual endeavor of some organi-

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zation based on this to attain, in every region, the locally suitable, permanent form against those two inveterate enemies of human stability, innovation and that secular increase in population that security permits. The imperfection of the means of communication rendered political unions of a greater area than that swept by a hundred mile radius highly unstable. It was a world of small states. Lax empires came and went; at the utmost, they were the linking of practically autonomous states under a common *Pax*. Wars were usually wars between kingdoms, conflicts of this local experiment in social organization with that. Through all the historic period, these few well defined classes acted and reacted upon each other. Until the coming of gunpowder, the man on horseback (commonly with some sort of armor) was invincible in battle in the open. Wherever the land lay wide and open and the great lines of trade did not fall, there the horseman was master—or the clerkly man behind the horseman. Such a land was aristocratic and tended to form castes. The craftsman sheltered under a patron and in guilds in a walled town, and the laborer was a serf. He was ruled over by his knight or by his creditor; in the end, it matters little how the gentleman began. But where the land became difficult by reason of mountain or forest, or where water greatly intersected it, the pikeman, or closer fighting swordsman, or the bowman, could hold his own, and a democratic flavor, a touch of repudiation was in the air.

Throughout, it was essentially one phase of human organization. When one comes to examine the final result, it is astonishing the small amount of essential change, of positively final and irreparable alteration in the conditions of the common life. Consider, for example, how entirely in sympathy was the close of the eighteenth century with the epoch of Horace, and how closely equivalent were the various social aspects of the two periods. The literature of Rome was living reading then, in a sense that has suddenly passed away. It was a commonplace of the thought of that time that all things recurred, all things circled back to their former seasons, there was nothing new under the sun. But now, almost suddenly, the circling has ceased, and we find ourselves breaking away. Correlated with the sudden development of mechanical forces that first began to be socially perceptible in the middle eighteenth century, has been the appearance of great

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masses of population, having quite novel functions and relations in the social body; and, together with this appearance, such a suppression, curtailment and modification of the older class as to point to an entire disintegration of that system.

The most striking of the new classes to emerge is certainly the shareholding class, the owners of a sort of property new in the world's history.

Before the eighteenth century, the only property of serious importance consisted in land and buildings. These were "real" estate. Beyond these things were live stock, serfs and the furnishings of real estate, the surface aspect of real estate, so to speak, personal property, ships, weapons and the Semitic invention of money. All such property had to be actually "held" and administered by the owner; he was immediately in connexion with it and responsible for it. He could leave it only precariously to a steward and manager, for personal honesty is a much less trustworthy thing than a public standard of honesty; and to convey the revenue of it to him at a distance was a difficult and costly proceeding. To prevent a constant social disturbance by lapsing and dividing property, and in the absence of any organized agency to receive lapsed property, inheritance and preferably primogeniture were of such manifest advantage that the old social organization tended in the direction of these institutions. Such usury as was practiced relied entirely on the land and on the anticipated agricultural produce of the land.

But the usury and the sleeping partnerships of the Joint Stock Company system, which took shape in the eighteenth and the earlier half of the nineteenth century, opened quite unprecedented uses for money, and created a practically new sort of property and a new proprietor class. The peculiar novelty of this property is easily defined. Given a sufficient sentiment of public honesty, share property is property that can be owned at any distance, and that yields its revenue without thought or care on the part of its proprietor; it is, indeed, absolutely irresponsible property, a thing that no old world property ever was. But, in spite of its widely different nature, the laws of inheritance that the social necessities of the old order of things established have been applied to this new species of possession without remark. It is indestructible, irresponsible wealth, subject only to the mutations of value that economic changes bring about. Related in its

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character of absolute irresponsibility to this shareholding class, is a kindred class that has grown with the growth of the great towns, the people who live upon ground rents. There is every indication that this element of irresponsible, independent and wealthy people in the social body, people who feel the urgency of no exertion, the pressure of no specific positive duties, is still on the increase and may still for a long time increasingly preponderate. They overshadow the responsible owner of real property or of real business altogether. Most of the old aristocrats, the old knightly and landholding people, have, so to speak, converted themselves into members of this new class.

It is a singularly ill defined class, a class with scarcely any specific characteristics beyond its defining one, of the possession of property and all the potentialities property entails, with a total lack of function with regard to that property. It is not even collected into a distinct mass. It graduates insensibly into every other class, it permeates society as threads and veins of gold permeate quartz.

It will be well to glance at certain considerations which point to the by no means self-evident proposition, that this factor of irresponsible property is certain to be present in the social body a hundred years hence. It has, no doubt, occurred to the reader that all the conditions of the shareholder's being unfit him for co-operative action in defense of the interests of his class. Since shareholders do nothing in common, except receive and hope for dividends, since they may be of any class, any culture, any disposition or any capacity, they will, one may anticipate, be incapable of any concerted action to defend the interest they derive from society against any resolute attack. Such crude and obvious denials of the essential principles of their existence as the various socialistic bodies have proclaimed, have, no doubt, encountered a vast, unorganized, negative opposition from them; but the subtle and varied attack of natural forces they have neither the collective intelligence to recognize nor the natural organization to resent. The question of the prolonged existence of this comparatively new social phenomenon turns, therefore, entirely on the quasi-natural laws of the social body.

Neglecting a few exceptional older corporations, which, indeed, in their essence are not usurious but of unlimited liability, the shareholding body appeared first in its present character in

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the seventeenth century, and came to its full development in the mid-nineteenth. Was its appearance then due only to the attainment of a certain necessary degree of public credit, or was it correlated with any other force? It seems in accordance with facts to relate it to another force, the development of mechanism, so far as certain representative aspects go. Hitherto, the only borrower had been the farmer; then the exploring trader had found a world too wide for purely individual effort; and then suddenly the craftsman of all sorts, and the carriers, discovered the need of the new great, wholesale, initially expensive appliances that invention was offering them. It was the development of mechanism that created the great bulk of modern shareholding; it took its present shape distinctively only with the appearance of the railways. The hitherto necessary, but subordinate, craftsman and merchant classes were to have new weapons, new powers, they were to develop to a new importance, to a preponderance even in the social body. But before they could attain these weapons, before this new and novel wealth could be set up, it had to pay its footing in an apportioned world, it had to buy its right to disturb the established social order. The dividend of the shareholder was the tribute the new enterprise had to pay the old wealth.

If the great material developments of the nineteenth century had been final, if they had, indeed, constituted merely a revolution, and not an absolute release from the fixed conditions about which human affairs circled, we might even now be settling account with the shareholding ingredient as the socialists desire, But these developments were not final, and one sees no hint as yet of any coming finality. Invention runs free and our state is under its dominion. The statesman's conception of social organization is no longer stability but growth. And so long as material progress continues, this tribute must continue to be paid. Even if we "municipalize" all sorts of undertakings, we shall not alter the essential facts; we shall only substitute for the shareholder the corporation stockholder.

At the opposite pole of the social scale to that about which shareholding is most apparent, is a second necessary and quite inevitable consequence of the sudden transition that has occurred from a very nearly static social organization to a violently progressive one. This is the appearance of a great number of people

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without either property or any evident function in the social organism. This new ingredient is most apparent in the towns, and is frequently spoken of as the Urban Poor; but its characteristic traits are to be found also in the rural districts. For the most part, its individuals are either criminal, immoral, parasitic in more or less irregular ways upon the more successful classes, or laboring at something less than a regular bare-subsistence wage, in a finally hopeless competition against machinery that is as yet not so cheap as their toil. It is, to borrow a popular phrase, the "submerged" portion of the social body, a leaderless, aimless multitude, a multitude of people drifting down toward the Abyss.

Whatever may be done to mitigate or conceal the nature of this element, it remains in its essence, wherever social progress is being made, the contingent of death. Humanity has set out in the direction of a more complex and exacting organization; and until, by a foresight to me at least inconceivable, it can prevent the birth of just all the inadaptable, useless or merely unnecessary creatures in each generation, there must needs continue to be this individually futile struggle beneath the feet of the race; somewhere and in some form, there must still persist those essentials that now take shape as the slum, the prison and the asylum.

The appearance of these two strange, functionless elements is by no means the most essential change in progress. The old upper class, as a functional member of the state, is being effaced. The old lower class, the broad necessary base of the social pyramid, the uneducated, unadaptable peasants and laborers, is with the development of toil-saving machinery dwindling and crumbling down bit by bit toward the Abyss. But side by side with these two processes is a third process of still profounder significance, and that is the reconstruction and the vast proliferation of what constituted the middle class of the old order. It is now, indeed, no longer a middle class at all. Rather all the definite classes, in the old scheme of functional precedence, have melted and mingled, and in the molten mass there has appeared a vast intricate confusion of different sorts of people, some sailing about upon floating masses of irresponsible property, some buoyed by smaller fragments, some clinging desperately enough to insignificant atoms, a great and varied multitude swimming successfully without aid or with an amount of aid that is negligible in relation to their own efforts, and an equally varied multitude of less

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capable ones clinging to the swimmers, clinging to the floating rich, or clutching empty-handed, and thrust or sinking down.

It will be obvious that the interest of this speculation at any rate centres upon this great intermediate mass of people who are neither passively wealthy, the sleeping partners of change, nor helplessly thrust out of the process. Indeed, from our point of view, these non-effective masses would have but the slightest interest, were it not for their enormous possibilities of reaction upon the really living portion of the social organism. This really living portion seems at first sight to be as deliquescent in its nature, to be drifting down to as chaotic a structure as either the non-functional owners that float above it, or the non-functional unemployed who sink below. What were once the definite subdivisions of the middle class modify and lose their boundaries. The retail tradesman of the towns, for example—once a fairly homogeneous class throughout Europe—expands here into vast store companies, and dwindles there to be an agent or collector, seeks employment or topples outright into the Abyss. But one can detect here that there are other processes by which men are being segregated into a multitude of specific new groups which may develop very distinctive characters and ideals.

There are, for example, the unorganized myriads that one can cover by the heading "mechanics and engineers," if one uses it in its widest possible sense. At present, it would be almost impossible to describe a typical engineer. The black-faced, oily man one figures emerging from the engine room serves well enough, until one recalls the sanitary engineer with his additions of crockery and plumbing, the electrical engineer with his little tests and wires, the mining engineer, the railway maker, the motor builder and the irrigation expert. Consider the rude levy that is engaged in supplying and repairing the world's new need of bicycles! Individuals from all the older aspects of engineering have been caught up by the new development, are all now, with a more or less inadequate knowledge and training, working in the new service. But is it likely that it will remain a rude levy? From all these varied people the world requires certain things, and a failure to attain them involves sooner or later, in this competitive world, an individual replacement and a push toward the Abyss. The very lowest of them must understand the machine they contribute to make and repair. They must

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keep on mastering new points, new aspects; they must be intelligent and adaptable; they must get a grasp of that permanent something that lies behind the changing immediate practice; so far, they must be educated, rather than trained after the fashion of the old craftsman. Just now this body of irregulars is threatened by the coming of the motors. The motors promise new difficulties, new rewards and new competition. It is an ill look out for the cycle mechanic who is not prepared to tackle the new problems that will arise. For all this next century, this particular body of mechanics will be picking up new recruits, and eliminating the incompetent and the rule of thumb sage. Can it fail, as the years pass, to develop certain general characters, to become so far homogenous as to be generally conscious of the need of a scientific education, and to possess, down to its very lowest ranks and orders, a common fund of intellectual training?

But the makers and repairers of cycles, and that larger multitude that will presently be concerned with motors, are, after all, only a small and specialized section of the general body of mechanics and engineers. Every year, with the advance of invention, new branches of activity, that change in their nature and methods all too rapidly for the establishment of rote and routine workers of the old type, call together fresh levies of amateurish workers and learners, who must surely presently develop into or give place to bodies of qualified and capable men. Throughout all its ramifications and ranks this new, great and expanding body of mechanics and engineers will tend to become an educated and adaptable class, in a sense in which the craftsmen of former times were not educated and adaptable. Here we have at least the possibility, the primary creative conditions, of a new, numerous, intelligent, educated and capable social element.

What are the chief obstacles in the way of the emergence, from out the present chaos, of this social element in the next hundred years? In the first place, there is the spirit of trade unionism. Trade unions arise under the traditions of the old order, when, in every business, employer and employed stood as a special instance of the universal relationship between gentle or intelligent, who supplied no labor, and simple who supplied nothing else. The interest of the employer was to get as much labor as possible out of his hirelings; the compensating object in life of the hireling, whose sole function was drudgery, was to

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give as little to his employer as possible. In the older trades, these traditions have practically arrested any advance whatever. There can be no doubt that their influence has spread into what are practically new branches of work. Even where new conveniences have called for new types of workmen, and have opened the way for the elevation of a group of laborers to the higher level of versatile educated men, the old traditions have to a very large extent prevailed. The average sanitary plumber of to-day in England insists upon his position as a mere laborer as though it were some precious thing, he guards himself from improvements as a virtuous woman guards her honor, he works for specifically limited hours and by the hour with specific limitations in the practice of his trade, on the fairly sound assumption that but for that restriction any fool might do plumbing as well as he does and so lower his wretched standard of comfort. Whatever he learns he learns from some other plumber during his apprenticeship years, after which he devotes himself to doing the minimum of work in the maximum of time.

At present, however, I am dealing not with the specific community but with the generalized civilized community of A. D. 2000; and for that emergent community, wherever it may be, it seems reasonable to anticipate the replacing of the classes of common workmen and mechanics of to-day by a large, fairly homogenous body of more or less expert mechanics and engineers, with a certain common minimum of education and living intelligence, and a common consciousness—a new body, a new force, in the world's history. For this body to exist, implies the existence of much more than the primary and initiating nucleus of engineers and skilled mechanics. If it is an educated class, its existence implies a class of educators, and just as far as it does get educated the schoolmasters will be skilled and educated men. The shabby-genteel middle class schoolmaster of the England of to-day in (or a little way out of) orders, with his smattering of Greek, his Latin that leads nowhere, his fatuous mathematics and his gross ignorance of pedagogics, certainly does not represent the schoolmaster of this coming class.

The future spells variation. The practical abolition of impossible distances over the world will tend to make every district specialize in the production for which it is best fitted. The chief opposing force to this tendency will be found in those coun-

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tries where the tenure of the land is in small holdings. A population of small agriculturalists that has really got itself well established is probably as hopelessly immovable a thing as the forces of progressive change will have to encounter. But I do not see how they will obstruct, more than locally, the reorganization of agriculture and horticulture upon the ampler and more economical lines mechanism permits, or prevent the development of a type of agriculturalist as adaptable, alert, intelligent, unprejudiced and modest as the coming engineer. The development of more and more scientific engineering and really adaptable operatives will render possible agricultural contrivances that are now only dreams.

Another great section of the community will also fall within the attraction of this possible synthesis, and will inevitably undergo profound modification—the military element. Of the probable development of warfare, a later chapter shall treat; and here it will suffice to point out that at present science stands proffering the soldier vague, vast possibilities of mechanism, and that so far he has accepted practically nothing but rifles which he cannot sight, and guns that he does not learn to move about. It offers him transport that he does not use, maps he does not use, entrenching devices, road-making devices, balloons and flying scouts, portable foods, security from disease, a thousand ways of organizing the horrible uncertainties of war. But the soldier of to-day (I do not mean the British soldier only) still insists on regarding these revolutionary appliances as mere accessories, and untrustworthy ones at that, to the practice of his art.

Almost all discussion of military matters still turns upon the now quite stupid assumption that there are two primary military arms, and no more, horse and foot. "Cyclists are infantry," the War Office manual of 1900 gallantry declares in the face of this changing universe. After fifty years of railways, there still does not exist a skilled and organized body of men, specifically prepared to seize, repair, reconstruct, work and fight such an important element in the new social machinery as a railway system.

But, sooner or later, the new sort of soldier will emerge, a sober, considerate engineering man—no more of a gentleman than his subordinate or any other self-respecting person.

Here, then (in the vision of the present writer), are the main

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social elements of the coming time; (1.) the element of irresponsible property; (2.) the helpless superseded poor, that broad base of toilers, now no longer essential; (3.) a great inchoate mass of more or less capable people, engaged more or less consciously in applying the growing body of scientific knowledge to the general needs; and a possibly equally great number of non-productive persons living in and by the social confusion.

All these elements are developing under the stimulus of mechanical developments, and with the bandages of old tradition hampering their movements. The laws they obey, the governments they live under are for the most part laws made and governments planned before the coming of steam. The areas of administration are still areas marked out by conditions of locomotion as obsolete as the quadrupedal method of the pre-arboreal ancestor.

This being so, a large part of the history of the coming years must assuredly consist of more or less conscious endeavors to adapt these obsolete and obsolescent contrivances for the management of public affairs to the new and continually expanding and changing requirements of the social body. There are here no signs of a millennium. Internal reconstruction, while men are still limited, egotistical, passionate, ignorant and ignorantly led, means sedition and revolution, and the rectification of frontiers means wars.

H. G. WELLS.

(To be continued.)

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SUNSPOTS AND RAINFALL.

BY SIR NORMAN LOCKYER, K. C. B., F. R. S.

It was in 1801, just a century ago, that Sir William Herschel attacked the question, whether the price of wheat in England was in any way related to the appearance of many or few spots on the sun's surface. The inquiry then was a daring one; for, however perfect our national statistics may have been in relation to the price of wheat, there was nowhere kept up a continuous record of the changes visible on the sun's surface, nor had there been any serious attempt made to determine the law underlying them. Still, what data there were enabled Herschel to arrive at the conclusion that the price of wheat was highest when there were fewest spots.

We have to come down to Schwabe, and the year 1830, before that continuous record begins which soon revealed a cycle of eleven years in the solar changes; and down to Meldrum, and the year 1870, before these changes were studied in connection with changes in terrestrial weather. In the meantime, half-way between 1830 and 1870, in the year 1850, Lamont and Sabine discovered a very close connection between the amount of the sun's spotted area and the changes in terrestrial magnetism.

Meldrum and many others soon produced evidence indicating a similar, though not so obvious, connection with terrestrial weather: cyclones in the East and West Indies, and rainfall in certain places were shown to be at a maximum when the solar spotted area was greatest; and, in spite of cheap sneers on the part of scientific *fainéants,* this opinion gained ground among the thinkers. Among the difficulties of that time may be mentioned the absence of continuity in the records. Although De la Rue and Balfour Stewart had inaugurated a photographic registration of sun-spots at Kew, science had to be content each year with a record of about 150 days out of the 365. Rainfall regis-

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tration was in its infancy, except at certain stations where observatories had been established; areas, therefore, could not be considered, especially in the tropics, where the atmosphere changes are the most regular.

But in the next few years a great improvement was effected. After reiterated appeals by Sir Richard Strachey to the Indian authorities, a Meteorological Department was established and began work in 1875; and, thanks to this organization, perfect rainfall observations have been made ever since, and in that very region of the world where they are of the greatest value for the study of meteorological changes, and where these changes, accompanied as they so often are by famines, lead to the most disastrous results.

While these efforts were being made in India, opinion at home was influenced by the "Indian Famines" report, in which it was stated that efforts should be made to do all that science could do in the way of securing a basis for possible predictions; and the Duke of Devonshire's Royal Commission on Science, which was then sitting, recommended the establishment of a Solar Physics Observatory in England, with branches in India and the Colonies, where the raw material, "sunshine," was much more plentiful than it is with us. A "Solar Physics Committee" was eventually appointed, and some wood and canvas huts were erected to cover a few instruments chiefly lent by the Astronomer Royal, Sir George Airy, and by private persons to carry on the necessary work.

As early as 1871, the Indian authorities were considering the question of erecting a Solar Physics Observatory in that country, in order that a complete record of solar changes might be secured to compare with the meteorological ones; but the proposal was abandoned on the ground of expense. It fell to my lot, however, to secure what was really needed in the first instance—namely, daily photographs of the sun. This was brought about by a personal appeal to Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, before the Solar Physics Committee was established. Thanks to this new organization, and to the subsequent addition of Mauritius as an observing station, the Greenwich photographs, which are a continuation of the Kew series before mentioned, have been so supplemented since 1878 that we may reckon on about 360 daily records in each year.

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We have had, then, since 1875 a perfect record of the rainfall in India, and a perfect record of the sun's spotted area since 1878.

The first piece of routine work undertaken at the Solar Physics Observatory at Kensington, after the daily photographs of the sun had been so magnificently secured, was a daily examination of the spectra of sun-spots, in order to see if any light could be thrown by them on other solar changes connected with their formation. This has gone on regularly from the year 1879.

To explain this new branch of solar research, it may be stated that, on throwing the image of a sun-spot on the slit of a spectroscope, it is found that the spectrum of a spot so examined is not only darkened all along, but that certain of the Fraunhofer lines, observed in the ordinary spectrum of the sun, are *widened*, and that the lines widened vary from time to time.

One of the most important results of this line of inquiry, now that an examination of many years' records is available, shows us that the widened lines at some periods are easily traceable to known elements, while at others their origins have not been discovered; the latter, therefore, have been classed as "unknown" lines. If we compare these two periods with the sun-spot curve, as constructed from the measurements of the mean spotted area for each year, it is found that, when the spotted area is greatest, the widened lines belong to the "unknown" class; while, when the spotted area is least, they belong to the "known" class.

Curves of the "known" and "unknown" lines have been made by determining for each quarter of a year the percentage number of known and unknown lines, and plotting these percentages. Instead of using the mean curves for all the known elements involved, that for iron is employed, as it is a good representative of "known" elements, and has been best studied. Such curves cross each other at the points where the percentage of unknown lines is increasing and that of the iron or known lines are diminishing, or *vice versa*.

It has been found that the chemistry of the spots changes with the sun-spot cycle. At sun-spot minimum, the spectral lines show that the spots contain iron vapor chiefly. At sun-spot maximum, the iron lines disappear and are chiefly replaced by others about which we know nothing, as they have

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not been recorded in any laboratory; the only reason so far suggested for this is that they indicate a very high temperature in the spot which we cannot reach in our laboratories. If we assume this, we have three stages of solar temperature thus indicated: a low temperature when the iron lines are seen alone; a mean temperature when the iron and unknown lines are equally mixed; and a high one when the unknown lines are seen alone.

When the curves of known and unknown lines cross each other—that is, when the number of known and unknown lines is about equal—we must assume a mean condition of solar temperature. When the unknown lines reach their maximum, we have indicated to us a *plus* pulse or condition of temperature. When the known lines reach their maximum, we have a *minus* pulse or condition of temperature.

During the period in which these observations have been carried on—that is, since 1879—three such crossings have occurred, indicating the presence of mean solar temperature conditions, in the years 1881, 1886-7 and 1892. Another crossing should have occurred in 1897, indicating thereby the arrival of another mean condition of the solar temperature, but as yet no such crossing has taken place.

Many sun-spots, then, must be held to indicate an excess of heat *and a very great excess.* In other words, the changes of solar temperature accompanying the sun-spot cycle are very much greater than was formerly imagined.

During the period in which these chemical inquiries into sun-spots have been pursued, we have learned a great deal about the solar prominences; and here again the same conclusions must be drawn from these observations—namely, that the sun is very much hotter at sun-spot maximum; and, indeed, the evidence here is more direct. We see a sun-spot easily because it appears dark on a bright surface, but it appears dark because it is cooler; hence, at first, spots were regarded as screens, and it was thought that, the more spots, the less the heat received from the sun. But the prominence work has taught us that the easily seen spot is only a feeble indication of tremendous solar activity and disturbances, which it is very difficult to see, for the reason that the disturbed areas are *brighter* than the general surface of the sun. Thanks, however, to a beautiful method invented by Messrs. Hale and Deslandres, based upon an idea of Janssen's, it is now pos-

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sible, day by day, to secure a photographic picture of the sun's disc, showing both spots and prominences on which the former, the cooler phenomena, are seen, *"rari nantes in gurgite vasto"* of a disturbed sea of incandescent vapors stretching right across the sun's surface.

In such photographs, near sun-spot maximum, the concentration of the prominences in zones parallel to the equator is perfectly obvious at a glance. They are thus seen to cover a much larger area than the spots, so that we have the maximum of solar activity indicated, not so much by the increased absorption phenomena indicated by the greater number of the spots, but by the much greater radiation phenomena of the metallic prominences. There seems little doubt that, in the future, the measure of the change in the amount of solar energy will be determined by the amount and *locus* of the prominence area.

Spots are, therefore, indications of excess of heat, and not of its defect, as was suggested when the term "screen" was used for them. We know now that the spots at maximum are really full of highly heated vapors produced by the prominences, which are most numerous when the solar atmosphere is most disturbed. It is all the more necessary to point this out, because the insignificance of the area occupied by the spots has been used as an argument against any easily recognized connection between solar and terrestrial meteorological changes.

Assuming two belts of prominences N. and S. 10° wide, with their centres over lat. 16°, the sixth of the sun's visible hemisphere would be in a state of disturbance.

Both the inquiry into the chemical nature of spots and the study of prominences during the last quarter of a century have, it will be seen, demonstrated that there is an undreamt of rise of solar temperature at the maximum, and a considerable falling off at the minimum, of the sun-spot cycle.

I have before stated that the regularity of the widened-line record since 1879 was broken about the year 1897. The "crossing" we had a right to expect did not take place; something abnormal was occurring in the sun.

At the same time, irregularities in the Indian rainfall, accompanied by severe famines, were recorded. The coincidence seemed to me very striking, and it suggested the study and correlation of the various series of facts which might be expected to

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throw light upon the subject, especially as we had now several new solar factors to deal with, revealed by the recent work to which I have referred.

Hence it was that the work* was undertaken, of which the Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has asked me to give a short account in the present article. This work has consisted, in a word, of a comparison of solar and terrestrial weather for a period for which the data along both lines are more or less complete.

Let me take the solar facts first.

A mean condition of solar temperature has been found from the equality in the numbers of the iron and unknown lines for the years 1881, 1886 and 1892; by extrapolation, it seemed that we might be justified in assuming other mean temperatures in 1869 and 1876.

With regard to the sun-spot cycle of eleven years, or thereabouts, which brings before us the main changes in the meteorology of the sun, it has long been known that a cycle of solar weather begins in about lat. 32° N. and S., and in a period of eleven years ends in about lat. 5° N. and S. Just before one cycle ends, another commences. The greatest amount of spotted surface occurs when the solar weather-changes produced in the cycle reach about lat. 16° N. and S.

The following table correlates the times of mean solar temperature, and of the *plus* and *minus* heat pulses, with the solar weather cycle, in order to arrive at the temperature history of the sun during the period which now concerns us:

SOLAR CYCLES.

Mean Lat. of spots.	19°		12°		18°		10°		19°	
Heat condition.	mean	plus	mean	minus	mean	plus	mean	minus	mean	plus
Years.	1869	1870-5	1876	1877-80	1881	1882-6	1886-7	1888-91	1891-2	1892

With regard to the terrestrial facts, it will be clear from the foregoing that the object to be pursued was to endeavor to ascertain if the *plus* and *minus* temperature pulses in the sun were echoed by *plus* and *minus* pulses of rainfall.

The Indian rainfall was selected (1.) because in the tropics

* "Solar Changes of Temperature and Variations in Rainfall in the Region Surrounding the Indian Ocean." By Sir Norman Lockyer, K. C. B., F. R. S., and W. J. S. Lockyer, M. A. (Camb.), Ph. D. (Gott.).

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we may expect the phenomena to be the simplest, (2.) because the regularity of the Indian rains had broken down precisely when the widened-line observations showed a most remarkable departure from the normal, and (3.) because Blandford's Memoir on the Indian rainfall was the most extensive and complete at our disposal, being quite complete for the period of 1876-1886, while other rainfalls were available for subsequent years.

But even then, as I have stated, we had only the complete observed sun-spot areas from 1878 and the widened-line work from 1879.

I am most anxious to show how limited the inquiry has necessarily been, both as to place and time, because, on the one hand, my son and myself have been blamed for using too short a period, and, on the other, our conclusions have been considered general for the whole surface of the planet.

A preliminary study of Blandford's tables suggested even a further limitation. As it was important to deal with the individual observations as far as possible, because it was of the essence of the inquiry to trace the individual pulses if they were found, the southwest monsoon was, in the first instance, considered by itself, because, although Eliot holds that the winter rains (northeast monsoon) are due to moisture brought by an upper southwest current, their incidence is very different, and their inclusion might mask the events it was most important to study.

It soon became evident that the facts, when thus appealed to, showed that in many parts of India the *plus* and *minus* conditions of solar temperature were both accompanied by pulses producing pressure changes and heavy rains in the Indian Ocean and surrounding land. These occurred generally in the first year following the mean condition of solar temperature, that is in 1877-8 and 1882-3, dates approximating to, but followed by, the minimum and maximum periods of sun-spots respectively.

This was a revelation, and by no means in accord with a widespread idea that maximum sun-spots were alone accompanied by maximum rainfall, although Meldrum, as far back as 1881, referred to "the extreme oscillations of weather changes in different places, at the turning points of the curves representing the increase and decrease of solar activity."

It was especially in regions, such as Malabar and the Konkan,

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where the monsoon strikes the west coast of India, that the sharpness and individuality of these pulses was the most obvious.

One method of study employed was based upon Chambers's view that the southwest monsoon depends upon the oscillations of the equatorial belt of low pressure up to 31° N. lat. at the summer solstice. The months of rain-receipt on the upward and downward swing will, therefore, depend on the latitude, and these months alone were considered.

The results obtained by this method of investigation are entirely in harmony with the above stated general conclusion, which, I must remind the reader, is based on the years 1876-1886, embracing one maximum and one minimum of sun-spots.

But we could go further than this, because Eliot, the Director General of the India Meteorological Department, had quite recently published a table of rainfall between 1875 and 1896 for the whole of India. This period embraced two maxima and two minima of sun-spots, and thus gave us a base double the length of that previously employed. Still, as it included the rainfall both of the southwest and northwest monsoons, it was anticipated that such a table, built up of means observed over such a large area and during both monsoons, would more or less conceal the meaning of the separate pulses observed in separate localities; this we found to be the case. Nevertheless, the table helped us greatly, because it included the summation of results nine years later than those included in Blandford's masterly memoir. Predominant pulses were found in 1889 and 1893, following those of 1877-8 and 1882-3. So that it enabled us to follow the working of the same law through another sun-spot cycle, the law, that is, of the mean solar temperature being followed by a pulse of rainfall.

Years of Mean Solar Temperature	Years of Chief Rainfall
1876	1878
1881	1882
1886-7	1889
1892	1893

The pulses in the period stand as follows:

Sun-spot	Rain Percentage Variation	Solar Heat Pulse
Min. 1878	+ 15	− Years after rise of iron lines
Max. 1882	+ 6	+ Years after rise of unknown lines
Min. 1889	+ 6	−
Max. 1893	+ 22	+

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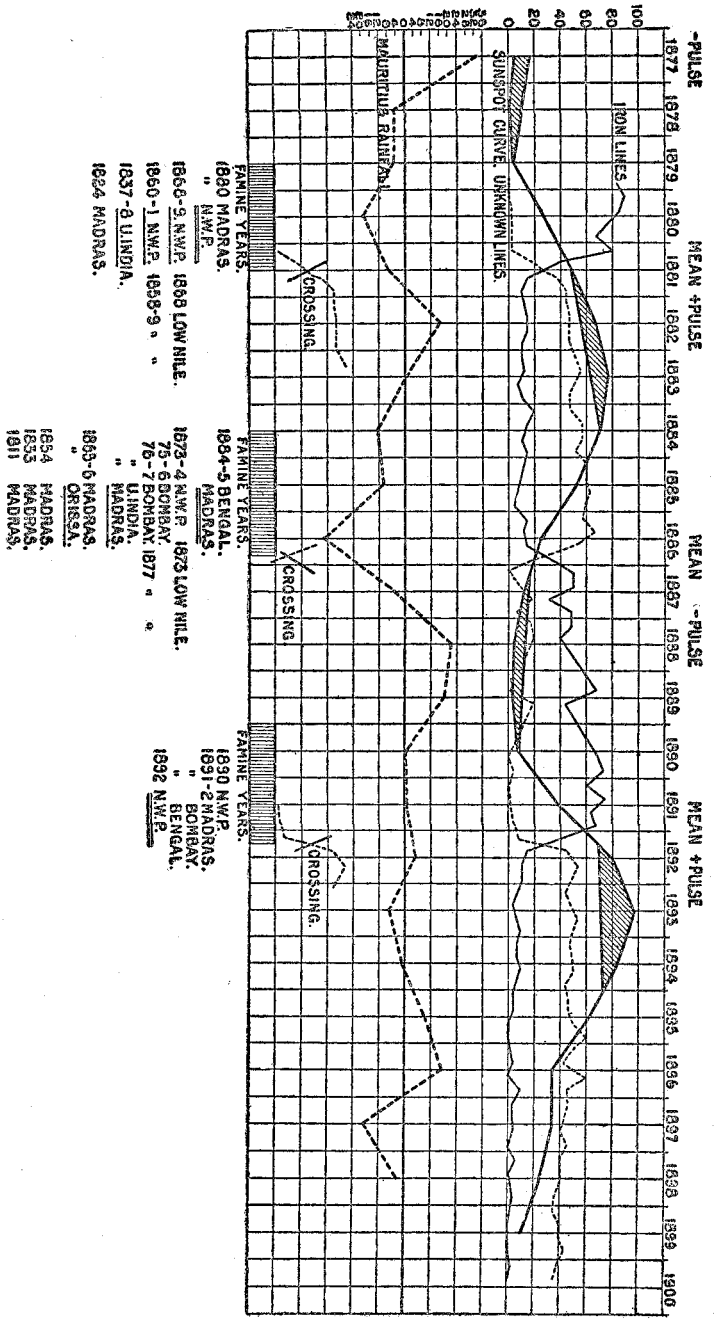

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The variations in the intensities of the pulses of rain at the successive maxima and minima are very remarkable, and suggest the working of a higher law, of which we have other evidence.

The facts, then, showed conclusively that there was an excess rainfall in India following the times of mean solar temperature; in other words, about the time of maximum and minimum sun-spots.

Now, these pulses of excess rainfall are limited in duration. Hence, when each pulse ceases, the quantity of rain which falls in the Indian area is greatly reduced.

The next question, then, was to see whether there was any connection between the intervals between the pulses and the occurrence of the droughts and famines which have devastated India from time to time, and apparently without any periodicity enabling them to be foretold and provided against.

For this purpose, the sun-spot area and widened-line curves were brought together, and the mean solar temperature and the plus and minus conditions marked, over the years included in the inquiry. These are shown on the top of the accompanying diagram, on which the sun-spot curve is shaded for the years when the highest rainfall occurred.

Then the famine statistics were inquired into, and for this the tables given in the Reports of the Famine Commission were utilized.

The first result was that, during the period embraced in the inquiry, the non-shaded parts of the sun-spot curves—that is, the intervals between the rain pulses—were precisely the years of droughts and famines, 1880, 1884-5 and 1890-1.

The next result was, that the famines which had occurred between 1811 and the beginning of the period covered by the inquiry, all fell on, or nearly on, the same intervals, counting back eleven years either from 1880 or 1885, the central years of the intervals between the pulses.

Now, all this cannot be coincidence. It really looks as if these inquiries, carried on for some few years during which work shall be redoubled in obtaining the necessary solar and terrestrial data, may eventually provide us with materials for a more or less perfect prediction of Indian famines.

The Indian area, after all, is but a small part of the earth's surface; and when the tropics are left behind, the great irregu-

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larities observed in weather changes are certain to make the problem a very difficult one.

Some other rainfalls have been examined outside the Indian area, and in some the same rain pulses have been recognized—the Nile and Mississippi valleys may be mentioned; but in other regions the rain pulses observed in India are lacking.

Such work as this would hardly be worth the doing if it did not suggest matter for further inquiries. The idea that the greatest rainfall should occur at sun-spot maximum was, perhaps, one founded on the magnetic results which were greatest at maximum; but why there should be two rain pulses in each cycle is not obvious at first sight.

Mr. Eliot long ago conjectured that the rainfall of India was profoundly modified by events taking place from time to time in the Southern Ocean. In his "Annual Summary" for 1896 he wrote as follows:

"It has apparently been established in the discussion that the variations of the rainfall in India during the past six years are parallel with, and in part, at least, due to, variations in the gradients, and the strength of the winds in the southeast trade regions of the Indian Ocean. The discussion has indicated that there are variations, from year to year, in the strength of the atmospheric circulation obtaining over the large area of Southern Asia and the Indian Ocean, and that these variations are an important and large factor in determining the periodic variations in the rainfall of the whole area dependent on that circulation, and more especially in India. It has also been indicated that these variations which accompany and are probably the result, in part, of abnormal temperature (and hence pressure) conditions in the Indian Ocean and Indian monsoon area, may be in part due to conditions in the Antarctic Ocean, which also determine the comparative prevalence or absence of icebergs in the northern portions of the Antarctic Ocean."

We have begun an investigation into the pressure changes which have been recorded in this region, the idea underlying the inquiry being, that the reduced solar temperature may modify the pressure, so that the high-pressure belts south of Mauritius may be broken up and thus allow cyclonic winds from a higher latitude to increase the summer rains, as they certainly were increased at the normal minima of 1877 and 1888. If anything like this turns out to be true, the whole question of atmospheric circulation is involved; and it may be that, eventually, the study of the rain pulses in different latitudes and longitudes will help us greatly in following what goes on in the upper air.

NORMAN LOCKYER.

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THE IRISH QUESTION.

BY PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L.

For the second time in its history, the British House of Commons the other day was disgraced by a scene of personal violence. In the debates on the Reform Bill, there were scenes of disorderly excitement, nothing worse. On the present occasion, Irish temperament was the offender. Irish members, as they allege, had a grievance, a measure in which they felt interest, and which they had reason to believe had been withdrawn, having been brought on at a late hour and passed by the clôture. The clôture was the act of Gladstone and characteristic of his impatience of opposition. If a member of a deliberative assembly shows that he has come not to deliberate, but to obstruct, expel or suspend him; limit, if you will, the length of speeches; but it is a dangerous thing to allow a Government with a majority at its back the power of denying debate.

The incident, however, showed that Irish disaffection is still alive, and that as the United States has the Negro problem, Great Britain has the Irish problem demanding solution at home before she undertakes to solve problems on the other side of the globe. Irish disaffection is, in fact, very much alive; in a certain aspect, it is more alive than ever; for Ulster, while opposed to the political movement in favor of Home Rule, seems disposed to fall in with the agrarian movement for the abolition of the landlord.

It is strange that British statesmanship should have been so long in getting at the real root of the Irish difficulty. The real root was the ownership of the land, the struggle for which, reappearing in different phases, has pervaded Irish history to the present hour. It was long taken for granted, and was accepted as a fact even by Macaulay, that the main root of the difficulty

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was religion, and that if Catholic Emancipation could once be carried, peace and contentment would ensue. Catholic Emancipation was carried; but, though the effect was unquestionably good, as that of any great act of justice would be, peace and contentment did not ensue. The result was bitter disappointment. On the other hand, O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Union, being purely political, and having no agrarian element, though it produced much stump oratory of a violent kind and gave government some trouble, never showed much life. Nor had a more revolutionary movement, afterwards set on foot by a circle of young and enthusiastic Nationalists, any better fate. Both movements lacked the agrarian elements; neither promised to give the people the land; and for merely political objects the Irish people did not so much care. Parnell's movement was both political and agrarian.

Continuing to combine the agrarian with the political movement, the Nationalist party came without loss through the last general election. It seems to have pretty well healed the internal dissensions by which it had been torn, and which, arising for the most part from personal sensibilities, have generally proved fatal to Irish combinations. The Irish Nationalist party in the House of Commons may now, in fact, be said to be the only effective Opposition. The South African war has fed the flame, and the Royal visit came too late to produce an effect.

It would be difficult to name a country, to the present problems of which, so clearly as to those of Ireland, history furnishes the key. Had Norman conquest—for Norman it was, not English—extended over the whole of Ireland, as it did over the whole of England, its consequences would have been the same; there would have been an aristocracy co-extensive with the nation, destined presently to become national, and, perhaps, like the Anglo-Norman aristocracy in England, to stand as provisional trustee of public liberty between the people and the despotic tendencies of the Crown. But the Norman conquest extended not beyond Leinster, and the result was an Anglo-Norman Pale, dwindling ultimately into a very narrow compass, with a coarse travesty of Anglo-Norman institutions. The English Monarchy was prevented from completing the conquest by various causes; by the distance of its centre from Ireland; by the difficulties of the passage in those days; and, above all, by the fatal retention

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of dominions on the Continent which led to the wasting, and worse than wasting, of the forces of England on French wars. Outside the Pale, remained the Celtic Clans, with Clan divisions and feuds, with Clannish ideas and sentiments, which, contrasted with the constitutional sentiments of the Saxon, have hardly ceased to characterize the Irishman even at the present day. Had the Clans been capable of political union, they would probably, by their overwhelming numbers, have expelled the invader; but, as the most patriotic historians see, they were capable of no union whatever. The struggle for the land between them and the Pale was carried on with the hideous atrocity which always marks the wars made by the semi-civilized man on the savage; though, perhaps, seeing what has been going on in China, we have little reason to say that highly-civilized nations are not capable of atrocities quite as great as those of any marauding Norman.

Then came the Reformation. The Pale became Protestant; the Celtic Clans, from opposition to the Pale, became more Catholic than ever; and the furies of religious hatred were added to those of the struggle for the land. In the grand European conflict between the Protestant and Catholic powers, Celtic Ireland was involved. She was a weak and outlying member of the Catholic confederation, and she suffered at the hands of a Protestant conqueror what her confederates were inflicting on Protestants elsewhere.

The Tudor Monarchy was strong; it persevered pretty steadily in the Irish enterprise; it could call for support on hatred of Rome, as well as on the greed of land; and the upshot was the completion, superficially at least, of the English conquest of Ireland. The Irish chiefs were disinherited and expelled, and the soil was converted from tribal to feudal, or quasi-feudal, ownership and law. That conversion was a grievance long cherished in the Irish breast; though it is probable that the chiefs had practically appropriated what theoretically belonged to the Clan, and that their exactions were not less aggressive or their tyranny less galling than those of a feudal lord, except in so far as a chief was the reputed kinsman, while the feudal lord was a stranger. James I., whose grotesqueness has made him, rather more than he deserves, the butt of history, tried, with the best intentions, to introduce English institutions into Ireland, and called a counter-

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part, as he imagined—a burlesque, as it really was—of the English Parliament. The first sitting at Dublin ended in a brawl.

At this time, a second Pale was formed, by the settlement on the confiscated lands in the North of Ireland of a colony of Scotch Presbyterians, with some English Protestants, whose relation to the native Celts was not less hostile, in the matter of religion, indeed, still more hostile, than had been that of the Anglo-Norman Pale. Thus, from the two quarters the Celt was being straitened and dispossessed. In the reign of Charles I., taking advantage of the quarrel among his conquerors, he rose, massacred, or drove out to perish, a number certainly large, though exaggerated by Protestant panic, of people of the Northern Pale, and struck for the recovery of his land. There followed a war of races and religions eminent for its fiendishness even among civil wars. The Celts gained some successes, but, on the whole, they went down before the stronger race, and their councils were divided between the Roman hierarchy, whose object was religion, and the lay leaders, whose object was the recovery of the land. Cromwell, at last, ended the war by one terrible blow, for which he repudiated beforehand the approbation of his worshipper, Carlyle, pleading necessity as his sole justification; while it must be borne in mind that quarter had been given on neither side, and that, as a rule, in those days, it was not given to garrisons which, after summons to surrender, had stood a storm.

In the deadly struggle, the Saxon, at last, had won; he grasped his prize; swept, not the laborer or the artisan, of both of whom he had too much need, but the landowner into Connaught, or at least into a limited district; and himself took possession of the land. Cromwell is much blamed by Mr. Lecky and by Mr. Gardiner for his settlement of Ireland. It may be bold to dispute the judgment of those two authorities. But Cromwell could no more have given back the land of Ireland to the vanquished race than a Spanish government could have given back Peru to the Incas. The Restoration, while it reversed other acts and confiscations of the Commonwealth, did not venture to reverse Cromwell's settlement of the land in Ireland. Nor could Cromwell, even had he been so minded, have annulled the ascendancy of the victorious religion. What he could do, in the way of toleration, he seems to have done, prohibiting the open celebration of the Mass, but not interfering with the liberty of conscience.

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To talk of his treatment of the Irish nation is, surely, a mistake. There was no Irish nation. There were in the island two races, totally alien and radically hostile to each other, differing in language, opposed in religion, and alike intolerant; one of them politically constitutional, the other made up of the débris of broken Clans, with Clannish ideas and sentiments. How could Cromwell have possibly made a national polity out of such elements? By uniting Ireland to England, he brought the Irish factions under the control of a common and comparatively impartial Parliament. He gave Ireland peace, and, as his mortal enemy, Clarendon, testifies, incipient prosperity.* He gave her free trade with England, the subsequent denial of which was, as much as anything, the cause of her misery. He gave her good government, by the hand of his son Henry, and righteous law, by the hand of his Chief-Justice Coke. Freedom of worship he could not give the Catholic, any more than the Catholic would have given it to the Protestant; but he gave the Catholic far more religious freedom than the Protestant got in Spain, Italy or Savoy.

Under James II., the Celt rose once more; once more struck for the land, passing a sweeping Act of Attainder against all Protestant proprietors; and once more succumbed to the stronger race, backed by the power of England. Then came the Penal Code, the offspring less of religious bigotry than of political and agrarian panic, which reduced the Catholic Celt, that is, about five-sixths of the population, to absolute helotage, in which his only comforter and redeemer was his priest, who, though uncultured and unrefined, played in this dark hour a noble part.

English Protectionism excluded, and not only excluded but

*"It cannot be imagined in how easy method, and with what peaceable formality, this whole great Kingdom [Ireland] was taken from the just lords and proprietors, and divided and given amongst those who had no other right to it but that they had power to keep [it]; no men having so [great] shares as they who had been instruments to murder the King, and were not like willingly to part with it to his successor. Where any great sums of money for arms, ammunition or any merchandise had been so long due that they were looked upon as desperate, the creditors subscribed all those sums as lent upon adventure, and had their satisfaction assigned to them as adventurers. Ireland was the great capital, out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed. And, which is more wonderful, all this [was] done and settled, within little more than two years, to that degree of perfection that there were many buildings raised for beauty as well as use, orderly and regular plantations of trees, and fences and enclosures raised throughout the Kingdom, purchases made by one from the other at very valuable rates, and jointures made upon marriages, and all other conveyances and settlements executed, as in a Kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles. And yet in all this quiet, there were very few persons pleased or contented." — Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Con., 116.

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repressed, Irish trade. The people had nothing whereon to live but the land; on the land they multiplied in the recklessness of despair. Potatoes or oatmeal, mixed with sea-weed, was the food of some of them. Swift jocosely proposed that they should eat their babies. Their holdings were little plots of potato or oatmeal, tilled with the spade; the houses were hovels, shared by the pig. Besides the rack-renting landlord, they had to carry an alien State Church, the tithes of which were wrung out of them, though the incumbent, justly so-called, was often non-resident. The exactions of the tithe-proctor were thus added to those of the landlord. Arthur Young was shocked at the insolence with which the squireen treated the peasant. The consequences, of course, were a reign of agrarian crime, often of a hideous kind, and a general conspiracy of the people against the law, like the Mafia, and not less long-lived. Less than half a century ago an agrarian murder was committed. A Council sat, the Attorney-General described the murder, giving not only the name of the murderer and the names of those who were present and watched the roads; but he declined to proceed, on the ground that all the witnesses would forswear themselves, and he would thus miss his only chance of conviction, which depended on somebody's turning King's evidence thereafter. The traces are still visible in Irish character.

The Restoration having undone Cromwell's work of Union, in the case of Ireland as well as in that of Scotland, Ireland was again a separate State, with a Parliament of her own, though in strict dependence on England, the Privy Council of which had supreme control over Irish legislation. But the Parliament was an engine of Protestant ascendancy, the Catholic helot being excluded, not only from sitting in Parliament, but till a very late day from the franchise.

A population of helots, trampled on by an alien oligarchy, was not a nation. But the oligarchy began to set up for a nationality of its own, and to kick against its legislative subordination to the Imperial country. At last, taking advantage of England's hour of distress at the time of the American Revolution, it flew to arms, under color of raising volunteers, and broke the tie. There were now two independent Parliaments under one Crown, and the two kingdoms were held together simply by patronage and corruption, combined with the influence of the

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State episcopate nominated by the British Government, and having for its chief spiritual function the maintenance of the English interest. Swift said that the blame for the character of the Irish episcopate did not rest on the English Government, which appointed pious and learned men; but its nominees were waylaid on the road by highwaymen, who robbed them of their credentials and came over to personate them in Ireland.

Grattan had hailed, in strains of rapturous eloquence, the birth of the Irish nation, but the nation still consisted of a Protestant and land-owning oligarchy, reigning over a population of political, social and agrarian serfs. The Catholics were, at last, admitted to the electorate, but not to Parliament, and being, as electors, under the thumb of the Protestant landlord, they gained little by that scanty measure of toleration. Economically, they rather lost, for the landlords subdivided the holdings to multiply subservient votes.

The economical evils and sufferings remained unabated. Manufactures could not rise, and the principal trade was smuggling, with its moral results. The letting of the land by the landlords to middlemen, who ground the tenant without mercy, increased the suffering of the peasant. Between the middlemen and the tithe-proctor everything was taken from the tiller of the soil but the barest sufficiency of potatoes to support life.

The Devon Commission of Inquiry, which reported in 1845, said that, while at certain points a spirit of improvement prevailed, in most parts of Ireland there was no corresponding advance in the condition of the laboring classes; that the agricultural laborer continued to suffer the greatest privations and hardships, to depend upon precarious employment for subsistence, to be badly housed, badly clothed and badly paid. The commissioners expressed "their strong sense of the patient endurance which the laboring classes had generally exhibited under sufferings greater, they believed, than the people of any other country in Europe had to sustain."

Surprising was the indifference of English Kings and statesmen to the Irish question, considering its really vital character. No English King trod the soil of Ireland between William III., who trod it as a conqueror, and George IV. Ireland was treated simply as a fund for shameless patronage and scandalous pensions. At last, the young Pitt turned his mind to this momen-

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tous problem. He tried to give Ireland free trade with England, the supreme necessity of which was apparent to the disciple of Adam Smith. He was baffled by the national jealousy fomented by the factiousness of Fox, and, sad to say, of Burke.

Then came the French Revolution. It fired first, not the Celt, who was a Catholic and too downtrodden to aspire to a republic, but the free-thinkers of Belfast, men like those who, worried out of Ireland by the State hierarchy, helped to start revolt in America. Once kindled, however, the flame spread to the helots. Then Ascendancy sprang to arms, and Ireland once more became a hell, the horrors of '98 rivalling those of 1641. Pitt then, like Cromwell, resolved on a union which should quench the conflagration by bringing both factions under the control of a common Parliament.

The notion that the Union was carried by bribery or force, with all the attendant bitterness, may now be laid aside. What has been supposed to be bribery was a Parliamentary indemnity paid to Irish patrons and boroughs, which in those days were deemed property, and the purchase of which from the patrons formed the basis of Pitt's Reform Bill for England. The indemnities were paid to all patrons alike, whether they had voted for or against the Union. Peerages and promotions in the Peerage were demanded and given, as conditions of support; and the worthy Cornwallis shrank with disgust from that part of the business; but it was necessary to throw a sop to an aristocracy called upon to resign the field of its ambition. No force was employed. Indeed, it appears from the dispatches of the Lord-Lieutenant that he had little force to employ.

Mr. Lecky blames Pitt for not having appealed to the Irish people by a dissolution of Parliament, before taking a vote on the Union. But, not to mention the serious danger of re-kindling the flames of civil war by a general election, how could the verdict of the election be said to be national, when five-sixths of the people were excluded from Parliament? Practically, the consent both of Protestant and Catholic may be said to have been taken; that of the Protestants formally, through Parliament; that of the Catholics informally, by canvassing their leaders. How far the consent of the Catholics was obtained by the expectation of Catholic emancipation, which Pitt held out in good faith, but the King's bigotry prevented him from granting, it is really impos-

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sible to say. A sensible Irishman, Protestant or Catholic, might well have embraced the Union as the only way of putting an end to the deadly struggle of races and religions which had just been making a hell of the country.

Pitt's measure did not do all, or nearly all, that was required. It cannot be said that it did not do good. After this, there was agrarian suffering with agrarian crime as its consequence. There were one or two spurts of rebellion. There was a series of Coercion Acts and trials for sedition. But there was not another '98. The English market was thrown freely open to Irish produce and to Irish labor. Plunket had been one of the staunchest and most eloquent opponents of Union. As a member of the united Parliament he became one of its heartiest upholders. Grattan sat in the united Parliament, and at first for an English pocket borough.

It is not likely that a Parliament of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland would ever have granted Catholic emancipation. The united Parliament granted it after a long struggle, terminated by the conversion of Wellington and Peel. As a measure of religious liberty, Catholic emancipation was imperfect, nor did it touch the vital question of the land; it required to be completed by the disestablishment of the Protestant State Church. But it did good, and, still more clearly, averted evil. Melbourne said that Catholic emancipation was a question about which all the clever fellows were on one side and all the damned fools were on the other, and on which all the damned fools were right. The clever fellows were only wrong in having expected too much; the damned fools were wrong altogether.

O'Connell, unable to give up his occupation, and, it may be added, his revenue as an agitator, set on foot a movement for the repeal of the Union, which he professed to keep within the bounds of strict legality, but which, having no agrarian element, took no serious hold. The movement of student enthusiasm, called "Young Ireland," which followed, was avowedly revolutionary. Lacking the agrarian element, it ended farcically in a conflict with the police in a cabbage garden. Peel, who had passed Catholic emancipation, continued to pursue a policy as liberal as his party would let him, and much more liberal than the strong Protestants among them liked. He increased the grant to Maynooth, and founded three "godless colleges," as high Protestants called them, for a university education open to Catholics who

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were excluded by their religion from Trinity College. He did more; he appointed a commission of inquiry into the state of Ireland, and he would have taken action, though in a conservative way, on its report, had the door not been closed by the landlord interest in Parliament.

The next catastrophe was the great famine of 1846, caused by the potato blight, which cast multitudes of Irish on these shores. From that time, the stream of Irish emigration has steadily flowed. These poor people must, at their own cost, have transported an immense number of their folk across the Atlantic. Family feeling is strong in them. It has drawn them in the wake of their kinsmen, and led them to lend loving assistance for emigration to each other.

It is not denied, on the contrary, by Irish Nationalists of the more moderate kind, such as Mr. Justin McCarthy, it is fully admitted, that England came heartily and generously to the aid of Ireland in the famine.

It was only after the famine that Parliament went to the real root of the matter by dealing, though in a mild way, with the economical question. Between reckless living, loss of rents through the famine, and rent charges for dowers and pensions to younger children, many of the landed proprietors were sunk in debt and incapable of performing the landlord's duty. The Encumbered Estates Act facilitated the sales of entailed estates, and a good deal of land changed hands, with some benefit at all events to the country, though the hope of calling into existence a proprietory of duty was little fulfilled. Many, probably most, of the new proprietors were alien to the people.

The disestablishment of that monster anomaly and abuse, the Irish State Church, carried by Mr. Gladstone in glorious defeasance of his own youthful theories of Church and State, besides redressing the religious grievance, did good economically, by putting an end to the levying of tithe, and throwing more landed property into the market.

It is fair to say that the disestablishment of the Irish Church and other reforms might have been sooner carried, if the character of the Irish members in the British House of Commons had been different from what it was, and they had been more ready to co-operate on great questions with the British Liberals. But the Irish members in those days, as their successors now admit,

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were to a deplorable extent given to place-hunting and jobbing. For two sessions, the petty Galway steamer contract put great questions out of sight. Sadleir's combination of political with commercial swindling did not help the cause.

It seems, however, that no economical change will satisfy, short of the general abolition of the dual ownership, in other words, of the elimination of the landlord. Toward this, great legislative advances have been made. The tenant has obtained from Parliament compensation for improvements, security against capricious eviction, practical fixity of tenure. From the condition of a tenant-at-will, he has been raised, by the State stepping between him and his landlord, pretty much to that of a freeholder, subject to an equitable rent-charge under judicial regulation. The measures to which recourse has been had to bring this about have been, to say the least, highly radical, especially when it is considered that many of the landowners, being purchasers under the Encumbered Estates Act or the commission for the sale of church property, held their land under a Parliamentary guarantee. More tenderness, at least in the way of recognition, might perhaps have been shown in the process to the rights of these owners, as well as to the sanctity of contracts, without which property cannot be stable or trade secure. If private interest is to be sacrificed to the public good, the public ought to bear its share of the sacrifice. The Irish landlords were not worse than other men, though they had inherited an unhappy position.

Money has also been freely advanced by Parliament to tenants for the purpose of buying out the landlord, and, as Mr. Courtney says, with little loss to the State.

The demand on the part of the Nationalists has now risen to compulsory sale, with Parliamentary aid to the tenant for the purchase. It is difficult to see how Parliament can go this length, without embracing principles more than radical; or how it can undertake to buy freeholds for the Irish peasantry at the cost of the British taxpayer, without buying freeholds for the British peasant also.

The agrarian revolution in a legislative form, which has gone so far toward abolishing the Irish landlord and terminating the conflict of ages by making over the land again to the Catholic peasantry, the representatives of the Celtic clansmen of former

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days, was largely the fruit of the movement headed by Parnell, who, for the first time, thoroughly combined the agrarian with the political object, calling upon the people to agitate for the restoration of the Parliament on College Green as the means of recovering the land.

The political half of Parnell's policy, hitherto, has suffered defeat. What may have led Mr. Gladstone, after vehemently opposing Home Rule, throwing Parnell and other Home Rulers into prison, and appealing to the country for power to settle the Irish question independently of them, suddenly to turn round and embrace their policy, is a question which need not be here discussed. He was beaten and he shattered his party. His ultimate proposal was about the most extraordinary ever submitted to a legislature. Ireland was to have a Parliament of her own, and at the same time eighty members in the British Parliament to vote on British issues, and by playing on the balance of British parties to keep Great Britain under Irish influence and prevent her from insisting on the restrictions and conditions by which the Irish Parliament was to be formally bound; for such probably would have been the result.

The measure could hardly have passed the House of Commons, had it not been well known that it would be thrown out in the House of Lords.

It is difficult to see what serious grievance Ireland now has of a political kind, other than the denial of a separate nationality. The necessity of resorting to Westminster for private bill legislation and appellate jurisdiction can hardly be called a serious grievance. For private bills, a special committee might, perhaps, be appointed to sit at Dublin and report to Westminster. Of discourtesy on the part of the Crown, the Irish people have certainly had reason to complain. But there is now, it seems, to be a Royal residence in the Phœnix, that most beautiful of all parks. The Lord Lieutenancy, "Castle government," to use its name of disparagement, is, no doubt, a relic of subordination; but when a motion for its abolition was carried in the House of Commons, Ireland objected and the measure was dropped in deference to her protest. The Irish, above all people, need to see those by whom they are governed. It would have been a very good thing if the Imperial Parliament could have held one session in College Green for the settlement of Irish questions. The idea was sug-

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gested, and, it is believed, was for a moment entertained; but the inconvenience was deemed too great.

Ireland has more than her share of representation. This, perhaps, she need not be so much begrudged, seeing that Great Britain must always be the chief seat of power.

The question of a Catholic university for Ireland stirs up religious prejudice, and at present gives some trouble. But it is quite secondary, and is sure to be ultimately settled in accordance with the wishes of the Irish people.

One thing is certain, and it has been made more apparent than ever by the struggle for Home Rule and the passions which that struggle has called into play. If there are to be two Parliaments, there must be two nations. The choice lies between Parliamentary union and the independence of Ireland.

Anything like a federal union of Great Britain with Ireland is out of the question. The federal system requires a group of States pretty equal in power to each other; at all events, without overwhelming preponderance on the part of any one of the group. A federation of two States, one of them so enormously superior in power to the other as Great Britain is to Ireland, would be still more fraught with discord and with the elements of disruption than is the federal union of Norway with Sweden.

Of all the schemes, however, the strangest is that of Imperial Federationists, who, to create materials for the political edifice of the construction of which they are enamored, propose to break up the United Kingdom into its aboriginal nationalities, and give England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, each of them, a State legislature of its own. The restoration of the Heptarchy would be comparatively rational, since the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, if now revived, would not give rise anew to national quarrels and antipathies of race. They would, moreover, with Wales, Ireland and the two Scotlands, Highland and Lowland, make a sufficiently numerous and tolerably equal group. A federal union of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland would infallibly be, from the outset, a combination of the three lesser States against the greater. Decentralization to some extent, if the central government is overloaded, may be good; though it is difficult to see, in a kingdom so completely knit together by railroads and unifying agencies of every kind, what line decentralization could take. But such a scheme as that of breaking up the United Kingdom, for

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the purpose of combining its fragments in a polity with the Antipodes, will scarcely engage the practical attention of statesmen.

Great Britain can never afford to have Ireland torn from her side. Ireland, if she ceased to be a partner, would be a foe, and the satellite of Great Britain's other foes, as a separate Scotland was a satellite of France in former days. Nature has knit the two islands together; England, with her factories, is the market for the produce of Irish pastures and the labor of Irish hands. The races are intermingled. A quarter of Ireland is Anglo-Norman or Saxon, and there must be at least a couple of millions of Irish Celts or their descendants in Great Britain. The language and literature of the two islands are one; it is only in a corner of Ireland that Erse is still spoken; and it may safely be predicted that the attempt to revive a language without a literature, and unknown to trade, will fail. Swift packets have abridged the passage, and will probably abridge it still more. When an end has been put to the dual ownership, and the land belongs to the man who tills it, the cry for political separation will probably be no longer heard.

The writer once spent some time at Dublin in intercourse with some of the leading Irish Liberals, Catholic as well as Protestant, of that day, whose opinions he believes to have been a fair index of the real interests of their country. These men were all thorough reformers, ardently in favor of the disestablishment of the Irish State Church, which had not then been carried; of reform of the land law; and of every other measure of justice; but thoroughly attached to the Union, against which not a word would they hear.

The strong point of Irish statesmanship is not forecast. What would Ireland be after the dissolution of the Union? Its population would be made up of three elements, not only different, but probably antagonistic. There would be the Ulster men, still heirs of the Enniskilliners and the defenders of Londonderry, whose bond of union with the Catholic Celt, the common desire of abolishing the landlord, would have ceased. There would be the Catholic Celts, under a priesthood eminently virtuous, and, by partnership in ages of suffering, justly endeared to the people, but trained at Maynooth under an intensely sacerdotal system, and turned out in an almost hide-bound condition of imperviousness to the intellectual influences of the day. But there

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would also be an element, at present numbered among the Fenians, but closely akin to the revolutionary party in Europe, and not likely to look up, or long to remain submissive, to the priesthood. A great mass of patronage, besides the seats in Parliament, would be at once thrown upon the board as the prize of contention. The materials of confusion and strife would surely not be wanting.

It is to partnership in the United Kingdom, however, that Ireland's interest seems so clearly to point. It by no means so clearly points to partnership in the great predatory Empire, to which the jingo aspires. From such a union as this, Irish patriots may well recoil. In forming an opposition to jingoism, on whatever ground, Irish Nationalists may be playing a very useful part at a critical juncture. They may be serving the interests of the British people and of humanity at large, as well as their own.

A mournful interest attaches to the primitive relics in Ireland of a precocious civilization; the Round Towers, Clonmacnois, Glendalough, and the Rock of Cashel. The civilization was only ecclesiastical and missionary; nor was it destroyed by the Anglo-Norman, but by the chiefs of Celtic clans, who despoiled and trampled on the Church, forcing her to stretch out her hands for aid to Canterbury and Rome. But, since the date of those ruins, Ireland has not had one happy hour. May a bright dawn be now at hand!

GOLDWIN SMITH.

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THE POETRY OF THE CHINESE.

BY W. A. P. MARTIN, D. D., LL. D., PRESIDENT OF THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY, PEKING, CHINA.

THAT the Chinese are capable of poetry may strike some of my readers as a revelation, so practical and prosaic are the specimens of the race with whom they have come in contact. Yet an educated Chinese is, of all men, the most devoted to the cultivation of poetry. If he makes a remarkable voyage, he is sure to give the world his impressions in verse. He inscribes fresh couplets on his door-posts every New Year's Day. Poetical scrolls, the gifts of friends, adorn the walls of his shop or study. He spends his leisure in tinkering sonnets; and, when he escorts a guest as far as some pretty pavilion on a hillside, he never fails to extract from his boot-top the ready pencil, and to indite in verse an adieu, which passes for impromptu—scrawling, at the same time, on wall or pillar a record of the occasion.

All this is, no doubt, somewhat artificial, but it has its root in national sentiment. For of China it is true to-day, as of no other nation, that an apprenticeship in the art of poetry forms a leading feature in her educational system. Wales has her Eisteddfod, or annual assemblage of bards, and the great schools of England have their prize poems; but in China no youth who aspires to civil office or literary honors is exempted from composing verse in his trial examination. To be a tax-collector, he is tested not in arithmetic but in prosody—a usage that has been in force for nearly a thousand years. Its origin, in fact, goes back much further. For did not Confucius make poetry the front foot of his educational tripos? "Let poetry," he says, "be the beginning, manners the middle, and music the finish."

The sage who prescribed this course of study was a musician; but if he ever wrote verse, not a line of it has come down to our

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day. He was, however, far from prosaic. His sayings sparkle with gems of metaphor; and that he keenly enjoyed poetry and appreciated its refining influence is evident from the maxim just quoted.

A stronger proof of his taste for poetry is the fact that, in one of the Five Classics, he took pains to collect and preserve the most noteworthy poems that had appeared prior to his day. In another, the *Shu*, or Book of History, edited by him, he has also preserved sundry fragments of primeval poetry. We have there the spectacle of princes and their ministers improvising responsive verse, a thousand years before the Trojan War.

In China, as in Greece, the birth of poetry preceded that of philosophy. The Lyric Muse heralded the dawn of culture; and, by the first light of history, her rosy fingers are discerned busily engaged in weaving a robe of many colors to cover the nakedness of new-born humanity.

Epic poetry, so conspicuous in India, is wholly wanting in China, its place being supplied by historical romance, which exhibits all the features of poetry with the exception of verse.

Dramatic poetry is abundant; but the drama, though it emerged ten centuries ago, is, if compared with our modern stage, still in a very primitive condition. It has scarcely got beyond the age of Thespis. An actor changes his dress, as he changes his rôle, in the sight of the audience, singing out as he dons the robes of majesty: "Now I am your humble servant, the Emperor."

Didactic poems, in which verse serves simply as an aid to the memory, are so common that official proclamations are frequently thrown into that form. When, in consequence of the triumph of British arms half a century ago, five ports were opened to the residence of foreigners, the Emperor caused a compend of the teachings of the sages to be published in verse as an antidote to their doctrines. Indeed, so highly esteemed is verse as a vehicle for instruction that a popular encyclopædia, in forty volumes, is composed entirely in verse.

Passing over minor divisions, we shall devote special attention to lyric poetry, of which the Chinese have produced an enormous quantity, and in which, in the face of all competitors, they are able to vindicate a high position.

Their lyric poetry falls, roughly, into three periods—ancient

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mediæval and modern. Their ancient lyrics consist chiefly of a copious anthology, re-edited by Confucius, but not compiled by him. This anthology contains three hundred and six pieces—songs, ballads, heroic odes and sacrificial hymns. The songs and ballads are so selected as to reflect the manners of the several states into which the Empire was at that time divided. They exhibit a simplicity in social arrangements which is in strong contrast with the artificial life of the present day.

Besides epithalamial verse, which is admitted to be ethically correct, there are love songs and love stories which shocked the formal moralists of later times. We, with a less fettered judgment, find in them nothing to object to, unless it be the vapid inanity of most of them. As a whole, they stand in point of morality far above any similar collection that has come down to us from pagan antiquity. To secure this degree of purity, they underwent a Bowdlerizing process at the hands of Confucius or his predecessors. So confident was Confucius that all traces of evil had been expunged that he declared that, "of these three hundred odes, there is not one that departs from the purity of thought."

We must not think of Confucius as always discoursing wisdom, or as perpetually hampered by a stiff ceremonial. He was one of the most human of sages—a sort of wiser, better Solomon, who, though he spoke more than "three thousand proverbs," found time to edit, if he did not compose, a great many charming canticles. As a musician, he must have enjoyed their harmonies of rhyme and rhythm—attractions which those ancient poems have entirely lost, through changes which the language has undergone in the lapse of ages. Here is a fragment that has a history:

"A speck upon your ivory fan
You soon may wipe away;
But stains upon the heart or tongue
Remain, alas, for aye."

Hearing a young man repeat these lines from time to time, Confucius chose him for a son-in-law. He showed enough affection for his daughter to select an honest man for her husband; yet he admitted into his collection, without note or comment, a ballad which has done much to perpetuate among his people a barbarous contempt for women:

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"When a son is born—in a lordly bed
Wrap him in raiment of purple and red;
Jewels and gold for playthings bring
For the noble boy who shall serve the king.

"When a girl is born—in coarse cloth wound,
With a tile for a toy, let her lie on the ground.
In her bread and her beer be her praise or her blame,
And let her not sully her parents' good name."

Had the sage but bethought himself to attach to this relic a little note of disapproval, how much cruelty he might have averted by the stroke of a pen!

The following song for New Year's Eve is as true to human sentiment to-day as it still is to the aspects of nature. To make it suit the season, however, we must remember that the date of New Year's Eve was probably a month earlier than at present, and the latitude about thirty-five degrees—that of Honan:

"The voice of the cricket is heard in the hall,
The leaves of the forest are withered and sere;
My sad spirits droop at those chirruping notes,
So thoughtlessly sounding the knell of the year.

"Yet why should we sigh at the change of a date,
When life's flowing on in a full, steady tide?
Come, let us be merry with those that we love;
For pleasure in measure there is no one to chide."

This is the oldest temperance ode in the world. It was designed, as the Chinese say, to curb the excesses incident to the season, by recommending "pleasure in measure." It probably antedates the founding of Rome.

Before dismissing these ancient odes, I ought to remark that a characteristic of their structure is the refrain. They generally start with a poetic image, such as the plaintive cry of a deer, or the note of a water-fowl; which is repeated at the beginning or end of each stanza, albeit without any very clear relation to the theme of the poem. Burns's famous song, "Green grow the rashes, O!" is in this respect thoroughly Chinese. Tennyson's graver melody, "Break, break, break, on thy cold gray stones, O sea!" is equally in keeping with the style of a Chinese lyric. The whole piece is pervaded by the moaning of the sea, suggesting more than words:

"And I would that my tongue could utter
The thoughts that arise in me."

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There is a book of elegies, of a somewhat later age, which is held in much esteem. It is chiefly the work of one man, Chu Yuen, who proved his genius, or at least impressed it on posterity, by drowning himself. His fate is commemorated by the festival of dragon boats, which go in search of his body.

Passing over this, we come to the beginning of China's Middle Age, the dynasty of Han, under which the revival of letters quickened every kind of intellectual activity. The poetry of this period shows a notable advance toward perfection of form; though its high qualities may not be discoverable in the specimens which I have to offer.

The first is by Kia Yi, a Minister of State who was sent into banishment about 200 B. C. In spirit and incident, it reminds one of Poe's "Raven;" but I leave to others the task of finding out how Poe got wind of his Chinese predecessor:

"Betwixt moss-covered, reeking walls,
An exiled poet lay—

"On his bed of straw reclining,
Half despairing, half repining—
When, athwart the window sill,
In flew a bird of omen ill,
And seemed inclined to stay.

"To my book of occult learning
Suddenly I thought of turning,
All the mystery to know
Of that shameless owl or crow,
That would not go away.

"'Wherever such a bird shall enter
'Tis sure some power above has sent her,'
So said the mystic book, 'to show
The human dweller forth must go.'
But *where*, it did not say.

"Then anxiously the bird addressing,
And my ignorance confessing,
'Gentle bird, in mercy deign
The will of Fate to me explain.
Where is my future way?'

"It raised its head as if 'twere seeking
To answer me by simply speaking;
Then folded up its sable wing,
Nor did it utter anything;
But breathed a 'Well-a-day!'

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"More eloquent than any diction,
That simple sigh produced conviction;
Furnishing to me the key
Of the awful mystery
That on my spirit lay.

"'Fortune's wheel is ever turning,
To human eye there's no discerning
Weal or woe in any state;
Wisdom is to bide your fate.'
That is what it seemed to say
By that simple 'Well-a-day.'"

A hundred years later, we have a touching ode addressed to his wife by Su Wu, when on the eve of a perilous embassy to the Grand Khan of Tartary:

"Twin trees whose boughs together twine,
Two birds that guard one nest,
We'll soon be far asunder torn,
As sunrise from the West.

"Hearts knit in childhood's innocence,
Long bound in Hymen's ties,
One goes to distant battle-fields,
One sits at home and sighs.

"Like carrier dove, though seas divide,
I'll seek my lonely mate;
But if afar I find a grave
You'll mourn my hapless fate.

"To us the future's all unknown;
In memory seek relief.
Come, touch the chords you know so well,
And let them soothe our grief."

It speaks well for the domestic affections of the Chinese that the sentiment of this piece has so penetrated their literature that it has had imitators in every age, even down to our own days. The Commissioner Lin, whose high-handed proceedings provoked the Opium War, on going into banishment, addressed a similar adieu to his wife.

Passing over another century, we come to Pan Tsi Yu, the Sappho of China, a gifted lady of the Court, B. C. 18. Though several of her compositions are extant, the best known is an ode inscribed on a fan, and presented to the Emperor:

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"Of fresh, new silk, all snowy white,
And round as harvest moon;
A pledge of purity and love,
A small but welcome boon.

"While Summer lasts, borne in the hand,
Or folded on the breast,
'Twill gently soothe thy burning brow,
And charm thee to thy rest.

"But, ah! When Autumn frosts descend,
And Winter's winds blow cold,
No longer sought, no longer loved,
'Twill lie in dust and mold.

"This silken fan, then, deign accept,
Sad emblem of my lot—
Caressed and fondled for an hour,
Then speedily forgot."

After an interval of two centuries, we come to the period of the "Three Kingdoms."

A weak tyrant, who occupied one of the thrones, was jealous of the talents of his younger brother, who had the reputation of being the first poet of his day. Reproaching the poet for thinking too highly of himself, he threatened him with death, unless he should on the instant compose a quatrain that would be accepted as a proof of genius. The young man strode slowly across the hall, his footsteps keeping time to the cadence of his verse, while he pronounced these lines:

"Are there not beans in yon boiling pot,
And bean-stalks are burning below?
Now why, when they spring from one parent root,
Should they scorch each other so?"

The dynasty of Tang (620-907 A. D.) witnessed the rise of the drama, and at the same time the culmination of lyric poetry. Tu Fu and Li Po were the Dryden and Pope of that age. The former, though for ten centuries he has enjoyed an immense popularity, had for a long time to struggle with poverty. "For thirty years I rode an ass," is a pathetic confession, which I shall not mar by the addition of another line from his voluminous works.

His great rival was more fortunate. Welcomed at court in his early prime, and praised by posterity as the brightest star that

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ever shone in the poetical firmament of China, Li Po is best known as a sort of Oriental Anacreon, a prince of bacchanalian bards. We have not space for more than two specimens of his verse—an epistle from a young wife to her husband in the army, evidently inspired by the farewell sonnet of Su Wu, and an ode on drinking alone by moonlight. The first is marked by the simplicity of Wordsworth; the second by the humor of Hood.

A SOLDIER'S WIFE TO HER HUSBAND.

"'Twas many a year ago—
How I recall the day!—
When you, my own true love,
Came first with me to play.

"A little child was I,
My head a mass of curls;
I gathered daisies sweet,
Along with other girls.

"You rode a bamboo horse,
And deemed yourself a knight—
With paper helm and shield
And wooden sword bedight.

"Thus we together grew,
And we together played—
Yourself a giddy boy,
And I a thoughtless maid.

"At fourteen I was wed,
And if one called my name,
As quick as lightning flash
The crimson blushes came.

"'Twas not till we had passed
A year of married life,
My heart was knit to yours
In joy to be your wife.

"Another year, alas!
And you had joined your chief,
While I was left at home,
In solitary grief.

"When victory crowns your arms,
And I your triumph learn,
What bliss for me to fly
To welcome your return!"

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ON DRINKING ALONE BY MOONLIGHT.

"Here are flowers and here is wine;
But there's no friend with me to join
Hand to hand and heart to heart,
In one full bowl before we part.

"Rather, then, than drink alone,
I'll make bold to ask the Moon
To condescend to lend her face
The moment and the scene to grace.

"Lo! she answers and she brings
My shadow on her silver wings—
That makes three, and we shall be,
I ween, a merry company.

"The modest Moon declines the cup,
My shadow promptly takes it up;
And when I dance, my shadow fleet
Keeps measure with my fleeting feet.

"Although the Moon declines to tipple,
She dances in yon shining ripple;
And when I sing, my festive song
The echoes of the Moon prolong.

"Say, when shall we next meet together?
Surely not in cloudy weather,
For you, my boon companion dear,
Come only when the sky is clear."

Of the present dynasty, the most distinguished poet, if not the most gifted, is the Emperor Kien Lung, who closed his reign of a full cycle almost exactly a hundred years ago. I have translated two or three of his peoms, but there is no space to introduce them here.

A text book used in Chinese schools is called "Selections from a Thousand Bards." The authors are of all ages, but it would not be difficult to make a catalogue of a thousand belonging to this dynasty, or, for that matter, to this century. Pao and Tung, late Ministers of State, were poets of no mean order. Both presented me with their works, as did several bards of less note. Not to enumerate other gifts of the kind, of which I have been the recipient, two old men (one ninety years of age), eminent as scholars and wearing the buttons of official rank, called on me lately as I was passing through Shanghai, each bending under a

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load of original poems, which he desired to present. It was a great honor, but it was something of a burden also, for I had to buy another trunk to carry their books to Peking. Then, am I not expected to clothe them in English dress, and to make them known beyond the seas?—a thing which space forbids, at present.

W. A. P. MARTIN.

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THE POPE AND THE TEMPORAL POWER.

BY R. DE CESARE, MEMBER OF THE ITALIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

In a recent number of this Review, there appeared a long and controversial article by the Archbishop of St. Paul, entitled "The Pope's Civil Princedom," in which, to our great surprise, we find an American Archbishop, full of modern culture, employing all the old arguments that the schools have suggested to the Roman Curia for the support of its thesis. If, like Mgr. Ireland, we admit the axiom that temporal power is necessary to the spiritual power of the Pope, the conclusions are only a logical consequence of these premises, and there follows an apology rather than a philosophical discussion.

Mgr. Ireland asserts that the protests of the Pope will never cease, and adduces as a motive the reason that if the Pope were to resign himself to the *fait accompli,* he would become a subject of the King of Italy, and would lose all prestige in the world. This is inconclusive reasoning, and shows a poor opinion of the power of the Church of Christ! Nobody desires the Pope to become the subject of the King of Italy; but it is both Christian and patriotic to demand that he should abstain from his present hostile position, while it is neither Christian nor patriotic to continue in it, and render it more acute day by day.

Mgr. Ireland cannot escape from the self-evident fact that the authority of the Papacy has increased since the loss of temporal power; but he explains it by the personal qualities of the aged Pope; an argument which is unconvincing, because it is not based on fact. It is true that much is due to the personal qualities of Leo XIII., but much is due also to those of his predecessor. The austerity of the lives of the last two Popes has had a great deal of influence in upholding the moral authority of the Papacy in the world; but to attribute all the prestige of a divine

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institution, like the Church, to the personal qualities of its representative, is a daring assertion, especially in these days of criticism.

Neither the law of guarantees nor the possibility of a Concordat satisfies Mgr. Ireland. He reiterates the doctrine of the most violent Intransigeants, to the effect that "the only solution of the Roman Question is the Civil Princedom of the Pope." He either does not see the obstacles in the way, or he believes them to be capable of being easily overcome; he considers Rome to be absolutely devoted to the Pope and ready to accept his rule; he recalls the return from Avignon, and the re-establishment of temporal power after the Napoleonic catastrophe. But every other side of the question escapes him.

Do not let us invoke the memory of Avignon. Many centuries have passed since then; let us rather pause at the beginning of the past century, when at the fall of Napoleon, Europe, weary of confusion, accepted the return to the old order of things, and, notwithstanding the treaty of Tolentino, in which Pius VI. had ceded the Legations and Romagna to France *à perpetuité*, Pius VII. returned to Rome as temporal prince of all the States of the Church. But, since then, eighty-six years, or two generations, have passed, and the world has changed. Neither in Rome nor in Italy did anything take place during the few years that the Pope was kept in France, in comparison with what has taken place in Rome during the last thirty years, and in the rest of Italy during the last half century. There has been a regeneration so complete both outwardly and inwardly that it is no longer possible even to imagine a return to the old order of things. It may be that Italy will have a period of difficulty to traverse; it may be that a partial victory of Radical ideas will endanger present institutions; but the national unity cannot be destroyed, and the reconstitution of the Papal temporal power would infallibly have that effect. Italian unity now represents such an agglomeration of moral and material interests that there is no human power capable of attempting its destruction. On the one hand, we find the national debt, the railways, the army, the navy, the industrial and commercial interests, the savings banks, etc.; and, on the other, modern culture, freedom of conscience, and the conviction that, if the Pope were to become King of Rome, we should fall into the worst of anarchies. In Rome

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herself the regeneration has been, perhaps, even still more complete. Around the old city a new one has arisen, and even in the ancient portion thirty years of Italian government have left an indelible mark. The Rome of 1870 cannot be recognized to-day. The old inhabitants have been overwhelmed by hundreds of thousands of Italians, who form a new mixed population, which has enormously increased in thirty years. Now that so many of the old Papal families are ruined, who formerly added lustre to the pontifical throne, a Pope who returned to rule in Rome would, after a few months, be forced voluntarily to renounce temporal power, after having provoked, in order to renew it, one of those historical catastrophes which humanity never forgives nor forgets. The restoration could only be brought about by the help of foreign intervention; and the Pope, who has difficulty in tolerating his present condition of independence, as recognized by Italy, would have to resign himself to render obedience to the foreign power which had restored him. Temporal power was re-established in 1849 by the combined action of four armies, and the French occupation did not render Pius IX. a more independent sovereign than Leo XIII. is to-day.

All these considerations are recognized by the careful observer. The Italians feel them, and they are understood by the Pope himself, in whose complaints there is a conventional note, and whose protests are, in reality, the result of calculation, and are made merely for the satisfaction of the fanatic party.

The force of events, at the present day, is so great that all pretext would be wanting to many of these discussions, if the Italian government were to resolve upon having an ecclesiastical policy superior to parliamentary fluctuations, and possessing a distinct aim—complete liberty for the Church, and resistance to the Vatican from a political standpoint. It would be necessary for Italy to persuade the world that the struggle is not with the Church, but with the political Papacy, which is the government of the Church, transitory by nature, and therefore, like all governments, subject to human imperfections. The political pretensions of the Papacy have the effect, in the main, of injuring the Church. Few people make any distinction between the two, and for that reason the struggle with the "intransigeant" Papacy of necessity degenerates into war against the Catholic faith and the Christian moral law. To-day, the Papacy is destined to

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prove that it can exist by its own moral force alone. Never has its influence been raised to a higher point than since it has been deprived of territorial sovereignty, and never have so many international ceremonies taken place in Rome with perfect order and freedom—jubilees, pilgrimages, ceremonies in St. Peter's, exhibitions, and even a Conclave. The last Conclave was one of the freest and most spontaneous ever recorded by the Church. The Pope writes whatever he pleases; he has his own diplomatic corps, his guards, and his court. No Catholic or Protestant Power in the world would give him a position such as is bestowed upon him by Italy. And if, after all, he believes himself not to be free, and even refuses to discuss the methods of rendering his liberty still more secure, it must be because he is no longer moved and inspired by the Spirit of Christ, and the Divine Founder of the Church will surely find a way by which his great Institution shall find peace amid the storms of the world, or shall be confined to living the life of each nation separately. The last remnant of the Middle Ages would be swept away, if the Universal Church were to disappear as well as Universal Dominion. These were the two great cardinal points upon which Dante and his contemporaries based social order. Universal dominion, in Dante's sense, has vanished, or rather it has been transformed into separate sovereignties, founded upon the modern and judicial conception of the State and of different nationalities. Might not the same thing occur in the case of the Church? It will depend upon the Vatican. The Church, by means of its hierarchic organization, might split up into several National Churches, mutually independent, but united in the same faith. Dr. Döllinger, the celebrated founder of the Old Catholics of Germany, held that this would take place inevitably, and therefore providentially, during the present century.

R. De Cesare.

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REVELATIONS OF A SENATE DOCUMENT.

BY SIDNEY WEBSTER.

THE injunction of secrecy was removed by the Senate in February last from an interesting and instructive document[1] relating to the recent treaty with Spain, and containing copies of the first instructions given by the President to his representatives before their departure for Paris, and of the reports and instructions exchanged in the course of the negotiation.

The contents asked for by the Senate remained unrevealed to the public till ordered to be printed on February 27th, 1901. Reading the document in connection with the protocols of the conferences, and other papers previously transmitted with the treaty,[2] one has an insight into the difficulties and influences which controlled the result.

The disclosures in the two Senate documents have been supplemented by a volume of the Spanish Red Book, covering the same transaction.[3]

Had these documents been accessible when the treaty was first made public in the United States, it would have been received and debated by voters in a way very unlike that in which it has been received and debated. There were, no doubt, controlling reasons why the first instructions given by the President to his representatives at Paris, their reports to him and his subsequent instructions thereon, should not be made public before the treaty had been finally ratified and proclaimed; for, if the results of the Paris negotiation had been rejected by the Senate and new negotiations begun, either with or without a renewal of the war, the contents of the document ordered to be printed at the end of

[1]Senate Document, No. 148, 56th Congress, 2d Session.
[2]Senate Document, No. 62, Part I., 56th Congress, 3d Session.
[3]"Documentos presentados a la Cortes en la legislatura de 1898 por el Ministro de Estudo (duque de Almódovar del Rio). Conferencia de Paris y Tratado de Pax de 10 Deciembre de 1898. Madrid, est Tapografico 'Seecessones de Rivadeneyra.' Impresiores de la Reul Easa. Parco de San Vicente, num, zo, 1899," pp. 324.

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February last might, in the possession of Spain, have been prejudicial to the United States.

In the President's first instructions to his representatives at Paris under his constitutional duty to conduct negotiations for a treaty of peace, he dwelt much (perhaps for their enlightenment) on "the unwelcome necessity of the war," on "the dictates of humanity," and on "high public and moral obligations." He repelled "designs of aggrandizement," and "ambitions of conquest." He condemned "an adventurous departure on untried paths." He urged on his agents at Paris "the same rule of conduct" in making peace as in accepting war. He said that the protocol was framed on those considerations, that there must be "unqualified concession of its *precise* demands," and that he had "waived, for the time being, the requirement of a pecuniary indemnity from Spain, * * * in the hope that Spain would thereby be enabled promptly to accept our terms; but, if the Spanish commissioners should, contrary to our just expectation, put forward and insist upon a claim for compensation for public property, you are instructed to put forward as counter-claim, a demand for indemnity for the cost of the war." No such claim was made by Spain.

Very pertinent to what the President then declared, is the reply made by Secretary Day, on July 30th, 1898, to the application by Spain to the President for the basis on which a political status could be established in Cuba, and the war terminated. He said that "the President, desirous of exhibiting signal generosity, will not now put forward any demand for pecuniary indemnity," but, nevertheless, he is not insensible of the cost of war, and, therefore, he must require in addition to abandoning Cuba, (1.) a cession by Spain of all her West India islands, (2.) an island in the Ladrones, and (3.) occupancy of Manila by the United States pending a treaty of peace which shall determine the "control, disposition and government of the Philippines." The capture of Manila came, it will be remembered, after the August protocol, and was in violation of it. Guam was selected by the President as the island in the Ladrones to be demanded under the second article of the protocol.

It was not contemplated by the President that the Spanish Commissioners would make a claim that either the United States, or the Islands, assume debts incurred by Spain, and,

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therefore, no specific orders were given excepting in regard to immovable fixtures, public archives and muniments of titles.

Of the Philippines more was said: The August protocol had not distinctly stipulated that sovereignty over them was by the treaty to be ceded to the United States. The Commission was to determine only "the control, disposition and government of the Philippines." Spain asked in vain of the President to define those words. He refused to interpret or modify them. He declared to the French Minister, who represented Spain, that the fate of the Philippines had not been decided; that it would depend on the treaty. The Spaniards contended in Paris that the protocol did not require Spain to cede the Philippines; that it referred only to the internal régime of the Islands, which the Commission could prescribe under Spanish sovereignty. The first instructions by the President seem not to have anticipated that contention. The exordium of his demand for only Luzon was occupied with defensive reasons and explanations for requiring any of the group. He affirmed that the orders to Dewey had been given "without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition," which may indicate that safety of our commerce in the Pacific, and American property on the coast, was the only motive; but yet he added that "the march of events rules and overrules human action," and we must meet and discharge the new duties and responsibilities according to "the high command and pledge of civilization." That was a plain reference to the unintended sequence of the war in behalf of Cuba, and to the by-product of an action begun with another object. Nevertheless, the President did finally come down to business, and mention "commercial opportunity to which American statesmanship cannot be indifferent," "American trade," and "an adequate commercial basis," as in "full accord with the just, moral and humane purpose which was invoked in our justification when accepting the war." Hence he required his commissioners to demand the island of Luzon! That was his interpretation of the protocol, as if it bound Spain to cede, and she was by it precluded from resisting, or discussing, the President's final decision of a matter which, in the previous August, he had affirmed had not been decided.

It has been general belief that the protocol and treaty were dictated to Spain by the President while she was under duress,

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and that they were unresistingly signed by her, but the official documents[1] show that while that may be true of the protocol, it is not true of the treaty.

The fact that the protocol was forced on Spain by the President, without explanation of the meaning of his language in regard to the Philippines, proved inconvenient and costly for the American Commissioners in the negotiations, which, instead of running smoothly under American pressure, were twice nearly ruptured. What would have been the effect had the President definitely explained that the words "control, disposition and government" in the protocol meant a relinquishment by Spain of sovereignty over the Philippines, cannot be known till the secrets of the Spanish Foreign Office shall have been revealed; but the President could not then have been more candid, for the reason that the Republican leaders at Washington had not, in August, 1898, formulated their requirements in the archipelago.

The midnight intimation by one of the President's commissioners, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, to the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, and the conversation three or four days after the deadlock over the Cuban debt, as cabled to Washington by Mr. Day on October 27th,[2] reads like a page from a history of diplomatic finesse in the seventeenth century. The Spanish Ambassador having said to Mr. Reid that the Spanish commissioners could not then return to Madrid "if known to have accepted entire Cuban indebtedness," and if forced to answer immediately the American questions regarding "debt, must answer 'No,' and break off the conference," Mr. Reid replied that his countrymen were not "very eager" for the Philippines; that a preponderance of sentiment was in favor of taking all the archipelago, but an "influential minority did not go to that length," and, therefore, it was possible, but not probable, "that out of these conditions the Spanish commissioners might be able to find something, either in territory or debt, which might seem to their people at home like a concession." On the next day the Spanish Secretary of the Commission appealed to Mr. Day for liberal treatment in the Philippines, and said that no government at Madrid could surrender all and live, for such surrender, "without relief" would mean national bankruptcy. Mr. Day

[1]Senate Doc., No. 148, 56th Congress, 2d Sess., p. 36.
[2]Sen. Doc., No. 148, p. 36.

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added in his cable that rupture of the negotiations was only averted "because Spaniards grasped at a hint thrown out in the conversation of Mr. Reid last night with Ambassador." That hint was payment in money for the Philippines!

The commission agreed to follow the order of topics in the August protocol. The Americans presented two articles for the treaty, regarding Cuba, Porto Rico and Guam, which were in effect the same as the two articles finally adopted. The Spaniards proposed amendments by which sovereignty over Cuba was to be transferred to the government of the United States, which was to accept it in order to deliver it to the Cubans, accompanied by debts which have been made a charge on the Cuban treasury. Had the Americans accepted sovereignty in trust, many things would be clearer in public law than now; but they rejected the amendment, refused to have anything to do with Cuban sovereignty, or Cuban debts, or Porto Rican debts, and the President approved.

After learned and forcible argument, the Spanish commissioners rejected the American counter-demand, and then intimated an acceptance of it provisionally, saying, however, "that strict law decides the question of the Cuban debt in their favor;" but yet they "are willing to modify the said strictness, in view of the advantages which Spain may derive from other stipulations of the treaty," and asking the Americans to formulate their Philippine requirements.

The stout contention by Spain in the matter of debts was unsound, for the reason that the question had been closed by the August protocol.

An effort to formulate Philippine requirements had disclosed serious differences among the President's five representatives at Paris, and Mr. Day sent to the Department of State a cable setting forth those conflicting opinions, the view of each Commissioner, and asking "explicit instructions."

Davis, Frye and Reid said that it would be a "naval, political and commercial mistake to divide the archipelago," as the President had ordered in his first instructions; and they asked for a widening of those instructions in that sense. Day could not consent to a peremptory demand of the entire archipelago. Gray did not deem it wise to take any of the islands. Neither Day, nor Gray, could find in the protocol ground on which to peremptorily

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demand the Philippines. The text of the differing views is given on pages 32-5 of the Senate Document printed February 27th, 1901.

On the next day the Secretary of State cabled the President's reply, which was, in the opening sentence, almost a transcript of the first sentence in the cabled opinion of Davis, Frye and Reid. The President executed a *volte face,* and said that his first instruction, demanding only Luzon, "cannot be justified on political, commercial or humanitarian grounds," and he, therefore, must have the whole archipelago or none; but yet, he added, our motives must be such as "will exalt our nation." He was influenced in this latest instruction, continued Mr. Hay, "by the single consideration of duty and humanity," and he, therefore, left "largely with the Commission" the details of acquiring all of the Philippines—a responsibility which it is not probable the American Commissioners desired.

The President caused it to be cabled to Paris, on October 28th, that "the Philippines can be justly claimed by conquest, *which position must not be yielded;*" but, on November 3d, Day replied that "the majority of the Commissioners are clearly of the opinion that our demand for the Philippines cannot be based on conquest;" that, when the protocol was signed, Manila had not been captured; that "captures made after an agreement for armistice must be disregarded," and that "we can require cession of Philippine islands *only* as indemnity for losses and expenses of the war." Davis cabled his concurrence. Two days afterward, the President acquiesced in part, but said "conquest should not be ignored," while indemnity may be "the chief ground." We only seek, he added, a treaty "justified in the judgment of posterity." He confided to the Commission "the argument which shall result in such a consummation." It would seem that, in the opinion of the American Commissioners, the President and his Cabinet were stronger in the humanities than in international law.

Meanwhile, our Commissioners had, on October 31st, and after the President's order of three days before for the whole archipelago, presented to the Spaniards a proposal for the cession. It was peremptorily rejected and used as occasion for an elaborate argumentative protest against such a perversion of the August protocol, to which the Americans replied at great length on November 9th, and the sitting of that day was adjourned for three days. Our Commissioners, foreseeing, perhaps, that something else

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besides arguments over the protocol must be employed to secure a treaty, immediately cabled again to the President, asking what money offer he was willing to make for the Philippines. Again each Commissioner cabled his view. Day "would minimize our holding to the lowest point consistent with our obligations," which he defined as Luzon and the islands essential by proximity. He added that we should not seek more than "a commercial and naval base in the East;" but, "as the President and Cabinet have determined to take whole group," he would offer a lump sum of fifteen millions and assume no debts anywhere. Frye would take the entire group, paying ten millions, which he thought a fair estimate of the debt properly chargeable to the Philippines. Reid would not recognize Philippine debt, but would pay twelve to fifteen millions, rather than lose a treaty and resume hostilities. Davis would not pay a dollar, and would stiffly stand on the ultimatum already presented to the Spaniards. Gray adhered to his former objections against acquiring any of the Philippines, but cabled in substance that a treaty of peace was "immensely important;" that the protocol required the fate of the Philippines "to be determined by a treaty" which the United States had no right to dictate, but must negotiate with Spain on equal terms; that if her free consent be not obtained, war would be resumed and conquest ruthlessly made. Therefore, he would be magnanimous to Spain, and faithfully execute the professions of disinterestedness with which the war was begun. He named no sum of money as payment.

On the next day came the President's reply, saying he would "regret deeply" a renewal of the war; that we were "clearly entitled to indemnity for cost of the war" (estimated not less than $250,000,000), but Spain had no money, and both archipelagoes were not worth that cost. Nothing was said of "conquest." It had dropped out. He added that the trade and commercial side, as well as indemnity, "are questions we might yield," but not "questions of duty and humanity." We owed "an obligation to the people of the Philippines." Hence, "pay to Spain ten to twenty millions of dollars!"

In one of the American arguments against the Spanish contention at Paris, our Commissioners said:

"The Spanish Commissioners have, themselves, in an earlier stage of these negotiations, spoken of the Filipinos as our allies. This is

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not a relation which the Government of the United States intended to establish, but it must at least be admitted that the insurgent chiefs returned and resumed their activity with the consent of our military and naval commanders, who permitted them to arm with weapons which we had captured from the Spaniards, and assured them of fair treatment and justice. Should we be justified in now surrendering these people to the justice of Spain, even under a promise of amnesty, which we know they would not accept?" (p. 210).

To those allies, presumably, the President referred, but within three months they, or many of them, were in armed revolt against the United States.

Two days after the President's cable of November 13th, his representatives informed him that they would offer twenty millions, and he approved. On the next day, the Spaniards made their second argument against cession of the Philippines, and, five days thereafter, the Americans responded by an offer of twenty millions, which, on the 28th, the President of the Spanish Commission, in a manly and rather pathetic speech (p. 213), accepted as "the only terms the United States offers for the concluding of the treaty of peace."

It is noteworthy that, on the day the American Commissioners cabled to Washington their differences regarding acquisition of the Philippines, and while the government of the United States was taking so much trouble to release the inhabitants of the group from the dominion of Spain, the revolutionary government of the Filipinos at Malolos, or members of it, were attempting to conspire with Spanish officers to exclude the United States, and plant "the flags of Spain and the Philippines side by side." A copy of the text of a captured letter to General Rios, the Spanish General in command at Iloilo, and its history, have been published.[1]

One of the yet unrevealed mysteries in the relation of the United States with the Philippines, is the career of Aguinaldo and the revolutionary government of the Filipinos at Malolos, of which he was President. Who he was, is now well known. His first direct association with the United States was at Singapore, on May 24th, 1898.[2] The American Consul General at that port informed our State Department that on the 23d of May he had heard from an Englishman, Mr. Bray, that Aguinaldo had arrived; that he, the Consul, requested an interview, which took

[1] "The Republican Campaign Text Book, 1900. Issued by Republican National Committee," pp. 63 and 339.
[2] Senate Doc., No. 62, Part I., 55th Congress, 3d Session, p. 341.

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place on the next day in presence of Bray and Aguinaldo's "trusted advisers;" that he then learned that Aguinaldo was directing an insurrection in the Philippines, and he had persuaded Aguinaldo to co-operate with the American fleet then at Hongkong, which Aguinaldo endeavored to do. The American Consul-General at Hongkong sympathized with the scheme, but when the Department of State had been told what its Consuls had done, it sharply admonished them.[1] What went on between Admiral Dewey and Aguinaldo is not yet fully known by the public. It seems, however, clear enough that Aguinaldo and the United States were playing at cross purposes from the outset. He was seeking the independence of the Philippines from both Spain and the United States. President McKinley had not decided, till his Commissioners at Paris needed instructions, what he wished in the Philippines. As soon as Aguinaldo, his associates and followers, suspected, from what was going on at Paris, that the President did not intend to help the Filipinos to freedom and independence, they began more actively to intrigue against the United States, and, in the end, to fight. Aguinaldo made his plans to begin the struggle within two days after the President's order of December 21st, 1898, to occupy the whole archipelago, was promulgated at Manila. How many of the Filipinos really sympathized with Aguinaldo, no one as yet seems to know.

Before a student of the Philippines can touch bottom in all Aguinaldo did in the insurrections against Spain and the United States with which he had been concerned, it will be necessary for him to explore the relation of the monastic orders to secular priests in the archipelago, the political and pecuniary relation of the chiefs of the Philippine Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians to the Papal hierarchy at Rome, the relation of the latter to the government at Madrid, and, finally, the former relation through Rome and Madrid of the Provincials of the monastic orders in the archipelago, to any and every Spanish Governor-General sent thither, if he ventured to interfere with their prerogatives.

The penetrating student may then feel it necessary to go even further, and ascertain the relation to the treaty of Paris and its negotiations held by the superiors, at Rome and Manila, of the monastic orders in the Philippines, and the relation to the

[1]Senate Doc., No. 62, Part I., 55th Congress, 3d Session, pp. 340, 354.

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United States government and its fundamental law, of the titles of houses,[1] lands, and the income thereof, controlled by members of the monastic orders who generally in the archipelago live in communities, and are not always obedient to the Roman Catholic Archbishop.

Only responsibility for debts of the relinquished, or ceded, islands had been disposed of by the Commission; details remained untouched. One of the most important of the undebated subsidiary questions was the relation to the United States of the inhabitants dwelling in the ceded islands. The government at Washington has been severely criticized at home and abroad because the treaty departed from the doctrines of the declaration of American independence in 1776 regarding "consent of the governed." That has been the tone of the anti-imperialists. Among the very last of the instructions cabled by the President to his Paris representatives was that of November 29th,[2] in which their opinion was asked regarding "citizenship of the inhabitants of the Philippines, which will prevent extension of that right to all Mongolians and others not actually subjects of Spain." The question seemed to contemplate American citizenship of all excepting those not Spanish subjects. He also asked if the American Commissioners deemed it advisable to provide for "recognition of uncivilized native tribes, in the same manner as in the Alaska treaty," and concluded by hinting the "leaving to Congress to deal with the status of inhabitants by legislative act."

The Americans, thereupon, proposed an article for the treaty, dividing all the inhabitants of Porto Rico and the Philippines into two classes—one class consisting of those born in Spain and Spanish subjects, and the second class including all other inhabitants born on the islands. The first class could remain, or remove, and remaining could preserve Spanish allegiance by certain formalities within one year, in default of which an adoption of "the nationality of the territory in which they may reside" would be assumed. Thus the first class were free to go or stop, but the second class, consisting chiefly of the natives, had not such stipulated freedom to remain or depart. Their political status was to be "determined by Congress." That American proposal finally became in substance article nine of the treaty.

[1] International Law Digest, Vol I., sec. 5a.
[2] Senate Document, No. 148, 56th Congress, 2d Session, p. 61.

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The Spaniards assented to the two classes, and to the proposal regarding the first class, but dissented on various grounds from the American proposal regarding the second, preferring instead that the second class "shall have the right to choose the Spanish nationality within the period of one year," but without which their Spanish nationality "shall not at any time be recognized." The native was to be free, it will be seen, to choose Spanish nationality, but not any other. Nevertheless, it afforded to the native a way of indicating whether or not he wished to be possessed and governed by the United States. The reasons why the American Commissioners could not accept the Spanish proposal are set forth on page 262 of Senate Document No. 62. Their validity and force depend on the way in which Congress shall exercise its authority. Owing, as the President insists, to war begun against the United States by the Filipinos, Congress has not yet legislated to determine "the civil rights and political status" of the natives.

Of the treaty thus concluded at the end of more than two months of peremptory demand, of labor, anxiety, difficulties and perils, and by payment of a large sum of money, the President thus spoke at Youngstown, Ohio:[1]

"We are in the Philippines. Our flag is there; our boys in blue are there. They are there not for conquest, they are not there for dominion—they are there because, in the providence of God, who moves mysteriously, that great archipelago has been placed in the hands of the American people. When Dewey sank the ships at Manila, as he was ordered to do, it was not to capture the Philippines—it was to destroy the Spanish fleet, the fleet of the nation against which we were waging war, and we thought that the soonest way to end that war was to destroy the power of Spain to make war, and so we sent Dewey. And the Islands came to us. It was no responsibility that we sought, but it was a responsibility put upon us!"

To the Home Market Club,[2] he said on February 16th, 1899:

"Our concern was not for territory, or trade, or empire, but for the people whose interest and destiny, without our willing it, had been placed in our hands. It was with this feeling that, from the first day to the last, not one word, or line, went from the Executive in Washington to our Peace Commissioners at Paris, that did not put as the sole purpose to be kept in mind first, after the success of our arms and the maintenance of our own honor, the welfare and happiness and the rights of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. * * * We were obeying a higher moral obligation which rested on us and

[1]Republican Campaign Text Book, 1900.
[2]Ibid, p. 332.

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which did not require anybody's consent. We were doing our duty by them, as God gave us the light to see our duty, with the consent of our own consciences and with the approval of civilization."

None of those who promoted the war to liberate Cuba foresaw, or intended, such a treaty of peace, or present difficulties with the Cubans, yet it is not easy to see how it can be accurately said that responsibility for governing the natives of all the ceded islands was in Paris thrust upon the government of the United States against its wish and will.

The first official act of the President was on December 21st, 1898, eleven days after the *project* of a treaty had been signed at Paris, and long before its ratification by the two governments, when he declared[1] that the sovereignty of the United States had been extended over the Philippines, and that the exercise of American control of the entire group would be immediately enforced, and that all persons will with firmness, but without undue severity, be brought within the rule of the United States. The theory of public law on which the President's order of December 21st was issued was, probably, that of conquest, which a majority of his representatives at Paris had discarded, and it was, as the result disclosed, an unfortunate blunder.

There was an incident in the negotiations at Paris bearing on it. The Americans having proposed that the United States should maintain public order over the whole archipelago, pending exchange of the ratifications, the Spaniards replied that the government at Madrid preferred that each nation "should be charged with the maintenance of order in the places where each might be established" (p. 229). Thereupon, the Americans did not insist on their proposal, but yet before the treaty had been ratified the President attempted to govern the whole archipelago.

The Senate document containing the cable messages exchanged between the President and his representatives at Paris is an answer to those, at home and abroad, who have criticized the government at Washington on the ground that war against Spain was not really begun only to release Cuba from the dominion of Spain, but with a fixed purpose to enlarge the area of the United States and its power to participate efficiently in the politics and commerce of China. Nevertheless, when the August protocol was signed, the President did, besides the liberation of Cuba, de-

[1] Republican Campaign Text Book, 1900; p. 335.

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mand and obtain the cession of Porto Rico, of an island in the Ladrones, and the occupation of Manila as a guarantee that the treaty of peace "shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines."

The fourth section of the Joint Resolution by Congress of April 20th, 1898, demanding that Spain "relinquish" its authority and government in Cuba, must be taken as conclusive evidence that sovereignty, exercised by the United States over that island, was not then intended. So far as concerned Congress and the President, the treaty of peace was, like evolution in the terms of Darwinian science, an unintended result. They who did, "with a monarch's voice, cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war," were those who produced an unintended sequence in Porto Rico and the Philippines, and also in Cuba, as we now discover.

It cannot be denied that the part of the law relating to Cuba, approved by the President on March 2d, 1901, "for the support of the Army," did change the previous law of April 20th, 1898, in a way to leave the Government of the United States exposed to criticism, on the ground that it modified the unselfish, generous and chivalrous attitude of three years before regarding the Cubans. Those who feel jealousy, or resentment, toward the United States, may go even so far as to say that the law which opened hostilities was enacted as a war stratagem to mislead foreign opinion and home opinion. The United States did affirm its intention not to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over Cuba, excepting for its pacification, and to leave to its people the control of the islands when pacified. Somewhat of sovereignty, jurisdiction and control was to be exercised, but how much was made dependent on the requirement of "pacification." Were Congress and the President, when enacting the first law in order of date, entirely under the influence of humanitarian and philanthropic emotions in behalf of the revolting Cubans, and especially the *reconcentrados,* which emotions were tinged by a wish to make generally acceptable a war in their interest?

Secretaries of State at Washington had, during three-quarters of a century, kept Cuba in mind.[1] For double reasons of defence of the island against Africanization by a European power and for our own military and naval security, each President had insisted that an island lying at our doorway in the Atlantic Ocean

[1]International Law Digest, Vol. I., § 60.

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must not, if it passed out of the hands of Spain, be owned by a foreign government, but in 1898 Congress seemed, for the moment, to forget that Cuba after pacification was to be in the hands of itself—a power foreign to us. On the very day of the enactment of the law of that year, the President, when demanding from Spain that it at once "relinquish" its authority and government in Cuba and its waters, accompanied the demand with a declaration of the intention of the United States not to control the island excepting for its "pacification," and of the determination of the United States to finally leave Cuba to its people, "under such free and independent government as they may establish." That was unfortunately explicit!

Altruistic fervor in 1898 over Cuban subjects of Spain has produced results intended, and unintended, that are, in many aspects, anomalous in public law. The statute of that year began, in its first clause, by declaring that the Cuban people "are free and independent;" in the third clause it authorized the President to use the army and navy to make them free and independent; and, finally, in the fourth clause, asserted that, when the island had been pacified, its people must be free and independent.

When Spain urged at Paris that abandonment of Cuba might leave it a prey to anarchy, the American Commissioners appear, in the Senate documents now before us, as having promptly replied that the United States will assume all the obligations of international law flowing from occupation of the island. Something like that is in the first and sixteenth articles of the treaty, which, possibly, may have modified the fourth self-denying clause of the law of 1898.

Our Supreme Court has adjudged that Cuba is, as to the United States, a foreign country. Under the statute of 1898 and the protocol of that year, inhabitants of Cuba were not Spanish subjects; they had by Congress been declared "free and independent." By those two public acts, and the treaty as well, the sovereignty of Cuba was left floating in mid-air.

What is the definition of the legal relation of the President and Congress to the island? Who is the sovereign, is a political and not a judicial question. The island is occupied and held by our army, but has Congress constitutional jurisdiction there where the United States is not the sovereign, nor are Cubans American citizens? Is Cuba a State with which the

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United States can now make a treaty, or only a fictitious State? Perhaps it is a State *de jure,* but not *de facto.* The United States government now occupies Cuba in order to pacify it, but has Cuba no right to decide when the occupancy shall cease? Power to expel the occupant she certainly has not, whatever may be her right, and, besides, the exercise of that power would not tend to pacify the island. The condition of Cuba, under the law of 1898, the protocol and treaty, was novel and unique, but what has it come to be under the army law of March 2d, 1901, prescribing the eight conditions under which the President may withdraw the army and navy, and *"leave* the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people," as the fourth self-denying clause of the law of 1898 required? The law of the present year concedes to the Cubans nothing else than submission to the recently dictated conditions under which their island can be "free and independent." That is a sequence probably not contemplated by anybody in April, 1898; but, when the law of 1901 was enacted, the fervid emotions of three years before regarding Cubans had subsided, and returning reason had brought to Washington perception of the fact that, although Cuba is a foreign country, the military defense of the United States must be considered, as well as the welfare of Cubans.

SIDNEY WEBSTER.

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JUBILEE OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

BY L. L. DOGGETT, PH. D., PRESIDENT OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION TRAINING SCHOOL, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

THE Jubilee Convention, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Young Men's Christian Association in America, which is to be held in Boston this month, calls attention to the development of the work of this great organization. Over 3,000 delegates from the United States and other lands will meet from June 11th to 16th to consider the work of the past fifty years, and plan for the extension of Christ's Kingdom among young men throughout the world.

The founder of the Young Men's Christian Association, George Williams, now Sir George Williams, who was born at Ashbury Farmhouse, near Dulverton, Southern England, in 1821, grew into manhood at the time when the industrial revolution in England was attracting young men from the country to the town. He went to London in October, 1841, and became a clerk in the dry goods establishment facing St. Paul's churchyard, of which he is now the proprietor. At that time, there were some eighty young men employed in the different departments of the business. Through Mr. Williams's efforts, a Young Men's Christian Association was organized, for the purpose of establishing religious services and Bible classes among the young men employed in various houses of business in London. This organization took effect on the sixth of June, 1844. The name was suggested by Christopher Smith, George Williams's room-mate. The constitution provided that the Association should seek to promote the spiritual and mental improvement of young men engaged in the drapery trade, that its membership should be young men who gave decided evidence of conversion to God, and

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that its management should be in the hands of a small board chosen from the membership.

This movement rapidly assumed important proportions. Prayer meetings and Bible classes were soon established in fourteen different business houses, and a missionary to young men was employed in January, 1845. In 1848, apartments were rented, in which a library, reading-room, restaurant, social parlors, and educational classes were provided; and young men who made no religious profession were invited, upon the payment of a small fee, to use the privileges of the institution, though they were given no share in its management and were known not as members but associates. A lecture course was established, which soon became the most important lecture platform in London. Branches of the parent society sprang up in different parts of the metropolis, and provincial branches in different parts of the United Kingdom became affiliated with the parent society.

The Association was marked by intense religious zeal. Through personal interviews by its members with young men, through Bible classes and evangelistic meetings for men, a persistent campaign was carried on to win young men to lead a religious life. The secular agencies developed considerably during the first seven years. In 1851, in the Central Association, there were 225 members and 425 associates. There were estimated to be 750 members and associates in the other branches in the metropolis. At this time, there were eight Societies in London, and sixteen in various parts of the United Kingdom. The twenty-four Associations enrolled approximately 2,700 young men.

Knowledge of this work came to America in the fall of 1851 at three different centers—Montreal, Boston and New York. The first movement took place at Montreal, where, through the efforts of two young men, who had become acquainted with the London work through published copies of the lectures delivered before the London Association, an Association was formed on November 25th, 1851. In November, 1851, Mr. George Petrie, who had become well acquainted with the London work during a visit to that city, called together a group of his personal friends in New York. These conferences, however, did not result in organization until encouraged by the success at Boston, where the first Association in the United States was established.

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A letter published on October 30th, 1851, describing in detail the work of the London Association, came under the eye of Captain Thomas V. Sullivan, who was active in Christian work among seamen, and so impressed him that he determined to establish a Society in Boston. His purpose was accomplished at a meeting held on December 29th, 1851, in the chapel of the old South Meeting House in Spring Lane. The Boston Society laid great emphasis upon the Association as a social resort. It introduced the committee system, and inaugurated the plan of restricting voting and office-holding to members who were in good standing in an evangelical church. It was the Boston Society which gave character and direction to the American movement. It immediately became one of the leading religious agencies of the city. Twelve hundred young men joined its membership; 16,000 copies of its constitution and by-laws were printed, and scattered broadcast over the United States; representatives of the Society assisted in founding Associations at other points, and through its influence, by the year 1854, some twenty-six Associations had been established in different parts of the Union.

Through the efforts of Chauncey M. Langdon, a government employee in Washington, and later a clergyman in the Episcopal Church, a convention of the American Associations was called at Buffalo in June, 1854. This convention established an alliance of the Associations of the United States and Canada, under the supervision of an executive committee which was instructed to call annual conventions, and to do everything in their power to foster and extend the work of the Associations. This alliance was known as the American Confederation, and it was largely through its influence that the American movement rapidly took pre-eminence among the Associations of the world.

In the meantime, through the efforts of George Williams and others, Associations had been established at Paris and other points in France, and at Geneva, in Switzerland.

Prior to the founding of the Association, a movement known as the *"Jünglingsverein"* had been started among young workingmen in Germany in the year 1834. This had already come into friendly correspondence with the Associations in England.

The culminating event of the early period was the first convention of the Associations of all lands, held at Paris in 1855, at which the memorable statement of belief known as "the Paris

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basis" was adopted. This has been called the apostles' creed of the Association, and did much to unify the movement. It was proposed by Mr. Frederick Monnier, a layman from Strasburg, and was read before the convention, all the delegates standing, "in which position it was then solemnly passed by the unanimous vote of the whole assembly. The members present then knelt together, gratefully to acknowledge the mercy of God and to entreat His benediction on the decision at which they had arrived." The basis was as follows:

"The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men, who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men."

The reports of this convention showed the estimated strength of the Association movement as follows:

Continent of Europe:				
Germany	130	Associations.	6,000	Members.
Switzerland	54	"	700	"
France	49	"	700	"
Holland	10	"	400	"
Belgium and Italy	3	"	60	"
	246	"	7,860	"
British Isles	47	"	8,500	"
United States and Canada	36	"	14,000	"
Total	329	"	30,360	"

The period from 1844 to 1855 saw the Association founded in the various Protestant countries, an International Alliance established on the American continent, and a uniform basis adopted by the Associations of all lands.

During the years from the Paris convention in 1855 to the Geneva convention in 1878, when a central executive committee for the Associations of the world was established, with headquarters at Geneva, the Young Men's Christian Associations were gradually developing a world consciousness as an organization, and slowly evolving a method of work for ministering to the needs of young men. During this period, the American Associations rose to the place of pre-eminence, and the type of Association developed here has in later years spread throughout the world.

For convenience the American development during this period may be further subdivided into four divisions: The period of the Confederation, 1855 to 1861; the War period, 1861 to 1866;

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the revival of the Association work after the War, 1866 to 1870; the period of adaptation of the work to the needs of young men, 1870 to 1878.

The six years preceding the Civil War were remarkable for two results in the Association: the creation of the International Committee, with its work of supervision, and the great revival which stirred the entire country during the years 1857 and 1858. During these years, the central committee of the Confederation was located respectively at Washington, Cincinnati, Buffalo and Philadelphia. This migratory plan was soon found to be a source of weakness, but much good was accomplished. Annual conventions were held, and information regarding the new movement was widely disseminated. Many new Associations were founded; and at the outbreak of the war there were 240 Associations in America, with an estimated enrollment of 30,000 members.

In 1856, several members of the New York Association established a union prayer-meeting, chiefly for men of the Dutch Reformed Church, in Fulton street. This was carried on for nearly a year, and in the following September it was given over to Mr. J. C. Lamphier, the city missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church, with the understanding that it should be continued on a union basis. The committee of the Association arranged to co-operate heartily in this meeting.

In the fall of 1857, came the financial panic which prostrated the business interests of the country. Large numbers of men began immediately to attend this noon prayer-meeting, and, under the auspices of the New York Association, many more union meetings were established in different parts of the city. Similar meetings were conducted by all the Young Men's Christion Associations throughout the country. It is estimated that over 300,000 persons were added to the evangelical churches of America as a result of this revival.

The years from 1861 to 1866 in America were overshadowed by the cloud of the Civil War. The financial depression and the distractions attending the outbreak of the War brought the Association to the lowest point it ever reached. The Boston membership declined from 2,400 to 700. The New York City Association, at the beginning of 1862, had but 151 members; it was burdened with a debt of $2,400, and its work had sadly declined. It is recorded that only sixty organizations survived the War;

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and yet, in the midst of this depression and apparent weakness, the Association performed one of the most heroic tasks ever undertaken by a religious organization.

Through the influence of the Association in New York, heartily seconded by those of Boston, Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago and other places, the United States Christian Commission was organized. This was the first organized attempt, on a large scale, to minister to both the spiritual and physical needs of soldiers under arms. The plan of work was to send out delegates with supplies and needed comforts, who should spend some five or six weeks without remuneration, nursing the sick and wounded, distributing literature, conducting evangelistic and religious meetings, bearing messages from home, and in various ways encouraging and helping the soldiers. Over 5,000 of these delegates were sent out during the War. The following table shows the vast efforts of this Commission in raising money and supplies for the soldiers:

*RECEIPTS BY THE UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION.

	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865. (4 mos.)	Total.
Cash	$40,160	$358,200	$1,297,755	$828,357	$2,524,472
Supplies	191,096	558,637	1,584,592	1,432,298	3,766,623
Totals	$231,256	$916,837	$2,882,347	$2,260,655	$6,291,095

This was an heroic service, and won for the Association the admiration and confidence of the public.

In the meantime, the New York City Society had secured for its librarian Robert R. McBurney, and for its president William E. Dodge, Jr. It had on its board of directors the Hon. Cephas Brainerd, who had been identified with its work from the beginning, and who had early conceived the true mission of the Association. These men, with their associates, set about developing in New York a work specifically adapted to the needs of young men, and introduced a new era in Association history.

The years from 1866 to 1870 mark the revival of the American work after the war. In June, 1866, an International Convention was called at Albany, which outlined a new policy for the Associations. The plan of a migratory International Committee was given up, and the headquarters were permanently established in New York city. Cephas Brainerd was, a year later, chosen chairman of this committee, a position which he held for twenty-

*Moss, United States Christian Commission, page 729.

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five years. This convention announced the platform that the work of the Association should be limited to young men, although it was some years before this became the actual practice.

As yet there was no uniformity among the Associations in America as to the conditions of membership. This question was agitated much at this time. Finally, at the international convention held in Portland, in 1869, it was decided that only members of evangelical churches should vote or hold office in the Young Men's Christian Association, and it was stated that:

"We hold those churches to be evangelical which, maintaining the Holy Scriptures to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice, do believe in the Lord Jesus Christ (the only begotten son of the Father, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, in whom dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and who was made sin for us though knowing no sin, bearing our sins in His own body on the tree) as the only name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved from everlasting punishment."

Since the adoption of this test, the American Associations have held firmly to the evangelical position, and they have received the confidence and gifts of evangelical believers.

In the meantime, in New York city a determined effort was being made to erect a suitable building adapted to the needs of young men. In addition to the work already undertaken for the spiritual, intellectual, and social improvement of young men, it was decided to add a gymnasium for physical training. After an earnest canvass for funds, and a most careful study of plans, the historic building on the corner of Twenty-third street and Fourth avenue, which provided under one roof for the various phases of Association activity, was erected. This building cost $487,000, and was opened to the public in November, 1869. Here was developed the modern type of the diversified work for the cultivation of Christian manhood, which has become characteristic of the American Associations, and which is spreading throughout the world.

A unique feature of this building, which has been copied in most Association structures, was the central reception-room, or lobby, in which was the public office of the secretary, and through which every one must pass upon entering the building. From this reception-room opened the reading-room, the parlors, the amusement-room, the gymnasium, the library, the educational class-rooms, and the secretary's private office. This enabled the

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secretary in charge to control the various activities which were housed under one roof, and to keep in touch with the multitude of young men who took advantage of the privileges of the Association.

The years from 1870 to 1878 in America may be characterized as a period of adaptation of the work of the Association to the needs of young men, and the extension of this work to various classes of young men. It is an interesting fact that, as soon as the organization specialized its work and limited it to young men, it immediately found a large field for service. In 1872, at Cleveland, a branch Association was founded for work among railroad men. This met with a hearty response from the men themselves. A secretary was employed, rooms were opened at the railway station of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern road, and an effort made to extend the work elsewhere. Similar societies were also organized at a number of the terminal points, and in the fall of 1875 the attention of Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, of New York, was called to this work. Through his endorsement, other railroad officials became interested in this movement. It was soon found that it was a profitable investment for railroad corporations to provide the facilities and attractions of a Young Men's Christian Association for the comfort of their employees, and that the improvement in the service yielded a real financial return.

As early as 1858, at the State Universities of Michigan and Virginia, student Young Men's Christian Associations had been organized. Early in the seventies, Mr. Robert Weidensall organized similar societies in a number of colleges. By 1876, there were twenty-five college Associations, with about 2,500 members. Through the influence of Mr. Luther D. Wishard, a student at Princeton, representatives of all college Associations were invited to the international convention held at Louisville, Ky., in 1877. This resulted in the inauguration of the inter-collegiate movement.

An extended effort was also made during this period among German-speaking young men, and toward its close a work was inaugurated among colored young men.

In other lands, while war, ecclesiastical conditions and general conservatism retarded the growth of the Associations, a marked development had taken place. Every three years, con-

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ventions of the Associations of all lands were held in different European cities. To these, the American Associations since 1872 have regularly sent representatives. During the early seventies, Mr. Moody made his evangelistic campaigns in the British Isles, and did a great deal to stimulate the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in securing money for buildings, in arousing spiritual zeal, and in calling the attention of the church to this important work. In 1878, some forty representatives of the American Associations attended the world's convention, which met at Geneva, Switzerland. Up to that time, there had been no established headquarters for the world's work. General affairs had been administered from London through Mr. W. E. Shipton, the secretary of the London Association. It was chiefly through the influence of the French and American delegates that the Geneva convention voted to organize the work of the Associations in all lands under an advisory committee, which should have a quorum located at Geneva, Switzerland. Colonel Charles Fermaud, an officer in the Swiss army, and a man with bright business prospects in Geneva, consented to give up his calling and accept the position of general secretary of this committee. By the year 1878, with the establishment of the world's committee, the Young Men's Christian Associations of the world may be said to have developed their ideal of work for young men.

Expansion has been the striking characteristic of the period from 1878 to 1901. The American Associations have increased in membership two and one-half times, from 99,000 to 255,000; in value of property, ten-fold, from $2,295,000 to more than $22,000,000; in the number of buildings, seven-fold, from 56 to 400; in employed men, over thirteen-fold, from 114 to 1,525; the current expenses for operating the Associations have increased nine-fold, from $376,000 to $2,900,000 annually.

The two factors which have most profoundly influenced the Association movement, during this period, have been the securing of property, and of trained secretaries and directors who give their whole time to this service. The carrying on of an all-round work for young men—physical, social, intellectual and spiritual—demanded not only experienced and able men to conduct the work, but commodious and properly adapted structures in which it could be housed.

The discoverer and demonstrator of the secretaryship was

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Robert R. McBurney, who was secretary of the New York City Association from 1862 until his death in 1898. Under his leadership, this office was developed and the number of employed men increased. Of all the agencies the Association movement has brought forth, the most vital is the secretariate. To this may be attributed its permanence and continued power.

Not only have men been employed for supervisory work, but since 1870 there has been an increasing demand for Christian young men to devote their lives to service in the Association as physical directors. More than 300 of these men are now employed. To the Christian physical director, the Young Men's Christian Association owes the development of the physical department, which aims not only to give young men physical training, but rugged, vigorous bodily development. This department has proved a great attraction to young men. It has proved not only a means for physical well-being, which is much needed under modern city conditions, but also a means of leading young men into lives of purity. The demand increased so rapidly that, in 1885, at Springfield, Mass., two schools for the training of general secretaries and physical directors were established. In 1890 a similar school was established at Chicago.

Four-fifths of the employed officers in the Association movement are upon this continent.

The building movement in America has developed with increasing momentum. In 1890, there were 205 buildings, valued at $8,350,000, in the United States and Canada; in 1900, there were 359. During the past year forty Association buildings have been erected. There is no greater testimony to the confidence of Christian philanthropists and business men in the Young Men's Christian Association and its work than the investment of large sums of money in Association property.

One of the striking developments of this period in the city work has been the growth of the educational classes. Immediately upon the erection of the building on the corner of Twenty-third street and Fourth avenue in New York city, evening classes were started in different subjects for young men. Similar classes were carried on in other cities, and by 1892, 20,526 different men were under instruction.

The latest period of Association history has also been marked by a great extension in the work for different classes of young

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men. In August, 1895, the world's student Christian federation of under-graduates of all lands was established. This now enrolls 65,000 members, in 1,400 institutions, in thirty different countries, and is the largest organization among undergraduates in the world. In the United States and Canada the movement has been extended to professional schools, theological seminaries, State universities, and other institutions of learning. There are now 650 college Associations upon this continent. In 1900, these enrolled 24,624 students. Thirty American student Associations own buildings valued at $1,000,000. There are now seventy-five student secretaries devoting their whole time to this work, and 14,000 undergraduates in America are in voluntary Bible classes.

The work for railroad men has become one of the most remarkable features of Christian endeavor. It is, probably, the most successful Christian work among workingmen carried on at the present time. During 1900, railroad corporations which control nearly three-fourths of the railroad mileage on this continent contributed $195,000 toward the current expenses of the 159 railroad Associations now in existence. There are seventy-six buildings, valued at $1,122,000, occupied by these Associations. During the past year, ten new Associations were organized, six of which were provided with buildings. Forty thousand railroad men are members of these Associations. One hundred and ninety secretaries are engaged in this department of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Since 1879, the International Committee has employed a secretary to develop the work among colored young men. There are to-day forty Indian Associations, with 1,600 members, under the direction of a travelling secretary, who is a native American Indian.

Largely as an outgrowth of the work for students in other lands, the American International Committee was invited by missionaries in India to inaugurate a work among young men in non-Christian lands. This has proved a most fruitful form of missionary endeavor. The work has always been carried on in subordination to the church, and as a supplementary work where missions have already been developed. There are now twenty secretaries of the American International Committee in India, Ceylon, Japan, China and Brazil.

With the outbreak of the war with Spain, secretaries were

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promptly sent out with tents and suitable equipments with the fast departing regiments, and a successful effort was undertaken to preach the gospel to the soldiers and sailors. The army in the Philippines was provided for in a similar way, and some of the Canadian regiments which have recently gone to South Africa were equipped in like manner. This work has been established as a permanent department of the International Committee.

Even before the war began steps had been taken to inaugurate a work among the seamen of the navy, and after the war a building was equipped for seamen at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. This department has developed rapidly, and at the present time there is an organized movement among the seamen of the navy, which is full of promise. Through the munificence of Miss Helen Gould, who has contributed largely toward the railroad and army work, a splendid building is being erected by the Naval Association, near the Navy Yard in Brooklyn, at a cost of $450,000.

For many years, the work of the Associations was limited to young men between sixteen and eighteen years of age, and upward. It is an interesting sociological development that, in the prosecuting of its work for young men, the Association has been led to give its attention to work among boys. Careful study has led to the conviction that effort ought to begin at the age when the boy is becoming a man—at the dawn of adolescence. There are almost as many boys in cities between the ages of twelve and seventeen as there are young men. Already, separate buildings are being erected for this important work, and twenty secretaries are employed to give their time to this feature of the Association.

Whether the Young Men's Christian Association has reached its final form, no one would be bold enough to affirm. It is remarkable that it should have grouped together such a variety of agencies upon the simple platform of young men advancing the Kingdom of Christ among young men. Through the three periods of its development, the Association has evolved into an institution with an enlarged ideal, closely akin to that of the Christian university. It is still animated by the evangelistic, spiritual purpose of the original band of young men who rallied around George Williams more than fifty-seven years ago. But, while keeping uppermost this ideal, it has endeavored to do, in a

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popular way, for the multitudes of young men of our cities, what the Christian university, in a more scholarly way, is doing for the young men who are to enter the professions.

This changed ideal will dominate the future. It has the same high aim as in the past, but it is larger and more far-reaching. If during the past twenty years the Association has increased tenfold, it may not be too much to anticipate that it will become very much greater in the opening years of the new century. It is estimated that $250,000,000 are invested in institutions of learning, chiefly for training the men who are to enter the professions and the higher walks of business. If during the past twenty-five years $26,000,000 have been invested in the Association enterprise, it is likely that a still greater sum will be devoted to this cause during the coming fifty years. Without doubt the Associations of the future will not only be provided with buildings, but with at least partial endowment.

In its field of labor it will reach out to help boys between the ages of thirteen and seventeen, and it may develop a mission to young men in the country and small towns. It is sure to have a large mission to the college students of the world, and to the city young men in non-Christian lands.

During the past twenty-five years, there has been a tendency to concentrate the work in the Association buildings. There is now evident a tendency to extend the work to different parts of the community beyond the building itself. The number of employed men giving their lives to this service is likely to increase largely. In the coming half-century, the Association will have more surely than ever before the confidence of the church and the community at large, and it will become the recognized agency in Protestant lands for the extension of Christ's Kingdom among young men.

L. L. DOGGETT.

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HAWTHORN AND LAVENDER:

SONGS AND MADRIGALS. PART II.

BY W. E. HENLEY.

XXV.

Moon of half-candied meres
And flurrying, fading snows;
Moon of unkindly rains,
Wild skies, and troubled vanes;
When the norther snarls and bites,
And the old moon walks a-cold,
And the lawns grizzle o' nights,
And wet fogs search the fold:
Here in this heart of mine
A dream that warms like wine,
A dream one other knows,
Moon of the roaring weirs
And the sip-sopping close,
February Fill-Dyke,
Shapes like a royal rose—
A red, red rose!

O, but the distance clears!
O, but the daylight grows!
Soon shall the pied wind-flowers
Babble of greening hours,
Primrose and daffodil
Yearn to a fathering sun,
The lark have all his will,
The thrush be never done,
And April, May, and June
Go to the same blythe tune

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As this blythe dream of mine!
Moon when the crocus peers,
Moon when the violet blows,
February Fair-Maid,
Haste, and let come the rose—
Let come the rose.

XXVI.

Low—low
Over a perishing after-glow,
A thin, red shred of moon
Trailed. In the windless air
The poplars all ranked lean and chill.
The smell of winter loitered there,
And the year's heart felt still.
Yet not so far away
Seemed the mad Spring,
But that, as lovers will,
I let my laughing heart go play,
As it had been a fond maid's frolicking;
And, turning thrice the gold I'd got,
In the good gloom
Solemnly wished me—what?
What, and with whom?

XXVII.

The night dislimns, and breaks
Like snows slow thawn;
An evil wind awakes
On lea and lawn;
The low east quakes; and hark!
Out of the kindless dark,
A fierce, protesting lark,
High in the horror of dawn!

A shivering streak of light,
A scurry of rain:
Bleak day from bleaker night
Creeps pinched and fain:

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The old gloom thins and dies,
And in the wretched skies
A new gloom, loth to rise,
  Sprawls, like a thing in pain.

And yet, what matter—say!—
  The shuddering trees,
The easter-stricken day,
  The sodden leas?
The good bird, wing and wing
With time, finds heart to sing,
As he were hastening
  The swallow o'er the seas.

XXVIII.

The wind on the wold,
  With sea-scents and sea-dreams attended,
    Is wine!
The air is as gold
  In elixir—it takes so the splendid
    Sunshine!

O, the larks in the blue!
  How the song of them glitters, and glances,
    And gleams!
The old music sounds new—
  And it's O, the wild Spring, and his chances
    And dreams!

There's a lift in the blood—
  O, this gracious and thirsting and aching
    Unrest!
All life's at the bud,
  And my heart, full of April, is breaking
    My breast.

XXIX.

This world of gladness,
Singing and sadness,
Moves in a madness
  Of youth and mirth;

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Above and under
Clothed on with wonder,
Sunrise and thunder,
  And death and birth;
His broods befriending
With grace unending
And gifts transcending
  A god's at play;
Yet do his meetness
And sovran sweetness
  Live in the jocund purpose of May.

So take your pleasure,
And in full measure
Use of your treasure,
  When birds sing best;
For when heaven's bluest,
And earth feels newest,
And love longs truest,
  And takes not rest;
When winds blow cleanest,
And seas roll sheenest,
And lawns lie greenest:
  Then, night and day,
Dear life counts dearest,
And God walks nearest
  To them that praise Him, praising His May.

XXX.

It was a bowl of roses:
  There in the light they lay,
Languishing, glorying, glowing
  Their life away.

And the soul of them rose like a presence,
  Into me crept and grew,
And filled me with something—some one—
  O, was it you?

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XXXI.

Sing to me, sing, and sing again,
  My glad, great-throated nightingale:
Sing, as the good sun through the rain—
  Sing, as the home-wind in the sail!

Sing to me life, and toil, and time,
  O bugle of dawn, O flute of rest!
Sing, and once more, as in the prime,
  There shall be naught but seems the best.

And sing me at the last of love:
  Sing that old magic of the May,
That makes the great world laugh and move
  As lightly as our dream to-day!

XXXII.

What doth the blackbird in the boughs
Sing all day to his nested spouse?
What but the song of his old mother-Earth,
In her mighty humour of lust and mirth?
"Love and God's will go wing and wing,
And as for death, is there any such thing?"—
In the shadow of death,
So, at the nod of the wizard Spring
The dear bird saith—
  So the bird saith.

Caught with us all in the nets of fate,
So the sweet wretch sings early and late;
And, O my fairest, after all,
The heart of the world's in his innocent call.
The will of the world's with him wing and wing:—
"Life—life—life! 'Tis the sole great thing
This side of death,
Heart on heart in the wonder of Spring!"
So the bird saith—
  The wise bird saith!

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XXXIII.

(*FROM THE SPANISH.*)

Come where my lady lies,
Sleeping down the golden hours!
Cover her with flowers.

Bluebells from the clearings,
  Flag-flowers from the rills,
Wildings from the lush hedgerows,
  Delicate daffodils,
Sweetlings from the formal plots,
  Blossoms from the bowers—
Heap them round her where she sleeps,
  Cover her with flowers!

Sweet-pea and pansy,
  Red hawthorn and white;
Gilliflowers—like praising souls;
  Lilies—lamps of light:
Nurselings of what happy winds,
  Suns, and stars, and showers!
Joylets good to see and smell—
  Cover her with flowers!

Like to sky-born shadows
  Mirrored on a stream,
Let their odours meet and mix
  And waver through her dream!
Last, the crowded sweetness
  Slumber overpowers,
And she feels the lips she loves
  Craving through the flowers.

XXXIV.

There was no kiss that day?
No intimate Yea-and-Nay,
No sweets in hand, no tender, lingering touch?
None of those darling, desperate caresses,

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So instant—O, so brief!—and yet so much,
The thought of the swiftest lifts and blesses?
Nor any one of those great royal words,
Those sovran privacies of speech,
Frank as the call of April birds,
That, whispered, live a life of gold
Among the heart's high memories,
And irk, and thrill, and ravish, and beseech,
Even when the dream of dreams in death's a-cold?
No, there were none of these,
Dear one, and yet——
O eyes on eyes! O voices breaking still,
For all the watchful will,
Into a kinder kindness than seemed due
From you to me, and me to you!
And that hot-eyed, close-throated, blind regret
Of woman and man baulked and debarred the blue!—
No kiss—no kiss that day?
Nay, rather, though we seemed to wear the rue,
Sweet friend, how many, and how goodly—say!

XXXV.

Between the dusk of a summer night
  And the dawn of a summer day,
We caught at a mood as it passed in flight,
  And we bade it stoop and stay.
And what with the dawn of night began
  With the dusk of day was done;
For that is the way of woman and man,
  When a hazard has made them one.

Arc upon arc, from shade to shine,
  The world went thundering free;
And what was his errand but hers and mine—
  The lords of him, I and she?
O, it's die we must, but it's live we can,
  And the marvel of earth and sun
Is all for the joy of woman and man
  And the longing that makes them one.

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XXXVI.

'Twas in a world of living leaves
That we two reaped and bound our sheaves.
They were of white roses and red,
And in the scything they were dead.

Now the high Autumn flames afield,
And what is all his golden yield
To that we took, and sheaved, and bound
In the green dusk that whispered round?

Yet must the memory grieve and ache
Of that we did for dear love's sake,
But may no more under the sun,
Being, like our summer, spent and done.

XXXVII.

These were the woods of wonder
  We found so close and boon,
When the bride-month in her beauty
  Lay mouth to mouth with June.

November, the old, lean widow,
  Sniffs, and snivels, and shrills,
And the bowers are all dismantled,
  And the long grass wets and chills;

And I hate these dismal dawnings,
  These miserable even-ends,
These orts, and rags, and heeltaps—
  This dream of being merely friends.

XXXVIII.

Dear hands, so many times so much
  When the spent year was green and prime,
Come, take your fill, and touch
  This one poor time.

Dear lips, that could not leave unsaid
  One sweet-souled syllable of delight,
Once more—and be as dead
  In the dead night.

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Dear eyes, so proud to read in mine
  The message of our counted years,
Look your proud last, nor shine,
  Dear eyes, through tears.

XXXIX.

The rain and the wind, the wind and the rain—
  They are with us like a disease:
They worry the heart, they work the brain,
As they shoulder and clutch at the shrieking pane,
  And savage the helpless trees.

What does it profit a man to know
  These tattered and tumbling skies
A million stately stars will show,
And the ruining grace of the after-glow,
  And the rush of the wild sunrise?

Ever the rain—the rain and the wind!
  Come, hunch with me over the fire,
Dream of the dreams that leered and grinned,
Ere the blood of the Year fell soured and thinned,
  And the death came on desire.

XL.

O, these long nights of days!
All the year's baseness in the ways,
All the year's wretchedness in the skies;
While on the blind, disheartened sea
A tramp-wind plies
Cringingly and dejectedly!
And rain and darkness, mist and mud,
They cling, they close, they sneak into the blood,
They crawl and crowd upon the brain:
Till in a dull, dense monotone of pain
The past is found a kind of maze,
At whose every coign and crook,
Broad angle and privy nook,
There waits a hooded Memory,
Sad, yet with kind, strange, unreproaching eyes.

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XLI.

"Dearest, when I am dead,
Make one last song for me:
Sing what I would have said—
Righting life's wrong for me.

Tell them how, early and late,
Glad ran the days with me,
Seeing how goodly and great,
Love, were your ways with me."

XLII.

He made this gracious earth a hell
With love and drink. I cannot tell
Of which he died. But death was well.

Will I die of drink?
Why not?
Won't I pause and think?
—What?
Why in seeming wise
Waste your breath?
Everybody dies—
Dies of death!

Youth—if you find it's youth
Too late?
Truth—and the back of truth?
Straight,
Be it love or liquor,
What's the odds,
So it slide you quicker
To the gods?

XLIII.

Grey hills, grey skies, grey lights,
And still, grey sea—
O fond, O fair,

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The Mays that were,
When the wild days and wilder nights
Made it like heaven to be!

Grey head, grey heart, grey dreams—
O, breath by breath,
Night-tide and day
Lapse gentle and grey,
As to a murmur of tired streams,
Into the haze of death.

XLIV.

So let me hence as one
Whose part in the world has been dreamed out and done:
One that hath fairly earned and spent,
In pride of heart and jubilance of blood,
Such wages, be they counted bad or good,
As Time, the old taskmaster, was moved to pay;
And, having warred and suffered, and passed on
Those gifts the Arbiters preferred and gave,
Fare, grateful and content,
Down the dim way,
Whereby races innumerable have gone,
Into the silent universe of the grave.

Grateful for what hath been—
For what my hand hath done, mine eyes have seen,
My heart been privileged to know;
With all my lips in love have brought
To lips that yearned in love to them, and wrought
In the way of wrath, and pity, and sport, and song:
Content, this miracle of being alive
Dwindling, that I, thrice weary of worst and best,
May shed my duds, and go
From right and wrong,
And, ceasing to regret, and long, and strive,
Accept the past, and be for ever at rest.

W. E. Henley.

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HOW TRUSTS AFFECT PRICES.*

BY JEREMIAH W. JENKS, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

PERHAPS no subject in connection with the Industrial Combinations of the last few years has been more discussed than that of their influence upon prices. Opinions have differed widely, the opponents of the Combinations usually believing that they have increased prices materially, their defenders claiming with equal positiveness that they have reduced prices. Differences of opinion have probably originated largely from the fact that the subject has been approached from different points of view; and mistakes have also, in many cases, been made through lack of a careful interpretation of available facts. It by no means follows that the Trusts have lowered prices because prices have fallen within a few years after their formation; nor, on the other hand, that Trusts have raised prices because prices have been increased. Neither does it follow that, because the Industrial Combinations might through their economies lower prices, they have, as a matter of fact, actually done so; nor again that, with the possible ability to increase prices through the exercise of monopolistic power, they have not found it advisable under certain circumstances really to lower them. Any careful discussion of the subject will involve, first, what the influence of combination would enable the Trusts to do regarding prices; second, what the Combinations actually have done; and, third, what effects upon society may be anticipated from any changes in prices made by Industrial Combinations.

*It is just to say in beginning this brief discussion that practically all the facts upon which conclusions are based have been taken from material gathered by the United States Industrial Commission. The opinions expressed by the writer, however, though doubtless common enough, he alone must take the responsibility for.

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I.

It appears to have been fully established that, in certain industries, various economies in production—such as eliminating cross freights, concentrating the superintending force, running best plants to full capacity, etc.—can be made from production on a large scale, or, in other instances, through the combination of different establishments favorably located in different sections of the country. It is, of course, not to be expected that any one source of saving will be found applicable in all industries, nor that the importance of any will be the same in different industries; but in many industries enough sources of saving will be found to make combination profitable. This statement does not ignore the fact that there may be, in many instances, disadvantages enough to offset the benefits; but experience does seem to show that, in many cases, at least, the cost of manufacture and distribution is materially lessened.

Granting that these savings can be made, it is evident that the influence of Industrial Combinations might readily be to lower prices to consumers.

When, however, the Combination possesses either patents or valuable trade marks or special advantages of location or the control of a very large proportion of the raw material, or when, at times, it includes a very large percentage of the entire manufacturing power of that industry in the whole country, a certain degree of monopolistic power is added, which might, in many cases, enable the Combination to raise prices beyond the rates obtained under freer competition. It is not necessary that it should possess a legal monopoly, or practically a complete monopoly, in order to be able to raise prices above preceding competitive rates. Any organization which controls considerably more than half of the output of the country can, beyond doubt, increase prices somewhat, without calling in immediately new and destructive competition, although this increase cannot be made very material without bringing new competitors into the field. Many of the opinions regarding the effect of "Trusts" on prices have been in conflict, because parties on one side have considered the possibilities resulting from savings, while those on the other have considered the possibilities arising from monopolistic power. Before reaching definitive conclusions, it is necessary to consider closely the facts along both lines.

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II.

Many conclusions have been drawn from statistics of prices—some favorable to the Combinations, some unfavorable—neither of which were warranted.

It is common to cite statistics over a period of years preceding and succeeding the formation of a Combination. If prices have fallen within this period, the conclusion is often drawn that the fall has been the result of the Combination. Such a conclusion is, of course, entirely unfounded. It is necessary to study much more critically, and to eliminate, as far as possible, all other considerations, before any conclusion can be reached.

It is to be expected, of course, that in the progress of industry the cost of production will be lessened, so that, other things being equal, prices of all manufactured products are expected, as time passes, to fall somewhat rapidly. The same tendency does not exist, to the same extent, in the case of agricultural products. It is expected, too, that the rate of fall in price will be greater when the industry is new than after it has become firmly established, and after many inventions, tending to lower the cost of production, have been made. Mr. Thurber's statistics, therefore, in the last number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, regarding the price of refined, illuminating oil, during the years from 1871 to 1900, which show a fall from 25.7 cents per gallon in 1871 to 4.2 cents in 1894 and 7.8 in 1900, while interesting in themselves, do not necessarily show the "influence on prices" of the Standard Oil Company. The Standard Oil Trust in its complete form was organized in 1882, and since then the business of that great organization has been under a single management. Before that date, there were more or less complete understandings among the most important producers for a period of nearly ten years. It is noteworthy, however, that the rate of fall in prices was very much greater between 1871 and 1881—from 25.7 cents to 10.3 cents, with an average price for the year 1880 of 6.6 cents—than it has been since 1882. In fact, the average price of petroleum during the year 1900 was the same as that during 1887, although from 1892 to 1899 prices ranged somewhat lower. It is doubtless true, as Mr. Thurber says, that the decrease in price was due largely to improvements in methods of manufac-

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ture and transportation; but, although much capital was necessary to make some of these improvements, it by no means follows that refining and transporting oil would not have been on a scale large enough to effect most, if not all, of this saving, had the industry been divided among four or five large competitors of substantially equal size, instead of being dominated by one. It seems to be a well-established fact, indeed, that on at least one occasion the Standard Oil Company has blocked the completion of a rival pipe line, backed by sufficient capital to insure all the most improved methods of transportation; and the fact that it has not had sole control of the improvements in methods of refining is established by the existence of several important independent refiners. I do not wish to underestimate the real improvements made by the Standard Oil Company. It is too much to ascribe all the lessening of prices to their improvements.

It is also noteworthy that lately the prices of refined oil have not fallen, although there have been many improvements in the methods of production which have enabled refiners to manufacture several by-products, which are in themselves as profitable as the production of refined oil. The manufacture of these by-products might well permit a lowering of the price of refined oil, other things being equal. The net result, therefore, of merely a careful following of the statistics of the prices of refined illuminating oil, noting the date when the Standard Oil Company was organized, seems to be that this organization has tended to check slightly the normal fall in price, rather than to hasten it. It is probable, however, that both conclusions are in part true. Its improved methods of production have probably lessened the cost to a considerable extent; while, at the same time, through its partial control of the market it has probably prevented the consumers from getting the full benefit of these methods.

The results of this combination are seen much more readily, if it is found possible to make a comparison between the price of raw materials used by the Combinations and that of their finished products. The difference between these two prices, of necessity, gives the cost of production plus the profit. Even when studying prices in this way, however, one must be careful not to draw too positive conclusions. Usually, more than one raw material enters into the finished product; and, in many cases, these materials are so transformed by the application of labor

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that they do not form a particularly important part of the cost of the finished product. The interpretation of such statistics, therefore, often requires a considerable amount of technical knowledge of the business under consideration. In some cases, however, the nature of the manufacturing process is so simple and the value of the raw materials forms so large a part of the cost of the finished product that even those who are not technical experts may draw a fairly trustworthy conclusion.

If, in making the comparison between the prices of the raw and the finished product over a period of years, the margin, *i. e.*, the difference between the two, increases after the organization of an industrial Combination, this may mean that there has been a lowering of the price of the raw material, due to the pressure which the Combination has brought to bear upon the producer. For example, the producers of crude petroleum have often testified that they were compelled to sell their product to the Standard Oil Company, as being the only owner of pipe lines which were accessible, and, consequently, the only available purchaser; and, as is well known, they claim that the Standard Oil Company, taking advantage of its position, has depressed the price of crude oil to an undue extent. In other cases, where it has seemed desirable for the Standard Oil Company to make the business of the transportation of crude oil through rival pipe lines unprofitable, it has put premiums upon the oil in special localities so high that the rival pipe line could not afford continually to pay them; in this way, making the rival pipe line unprofitable, it has been enabled to buy it up at a comparatively low rate. Thereafter, it has decreased the price paid for crude oil to a very material extent. It has even been conceded by officials of the Standard Oil Company that, in individual cases, in order to check their rivals, such a mode of procedure has been followed. They, of course, do not concede that such processes are as common as their rivals claim, but they assert that there is nothing unfair in the act more than in any other form of competition. Doubtless, both sides exaggerate somewhat their own view of the case, as regards both the frequency and the effects of such acts. What is clearly shown is the fact that the margin decreased much less rapidly after the formation of the Trust; that, later, it decreased no further, and that for the last two or three years it has increased. It is fair to say that the cost of refining oil has also increased.

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It has been conceded, too, by Mr. Havemeyer, President of the American Sugar Refining Company, that, owing to its power as a buyer, it probably secures some slight advantage in the purchase of raw sugar.

The margin between the prices of the raw and finished product may, however, also be increased by an increase in the price of the finished product, the price of the raw material remaining the same. This increase might come from the more or less completely monopolistic power of a Combination, or from the increased demand for goods due to the state of the market independent of the action of the Combination. After the formation of the American Tin Plate Company and of several of the leading steel combinations, such as the Federal Steel Company, the National Steel Company and the American Steel Hoop Company, the demand for iron, steel and tin plate increased so rapidly that all of these, together with the independent manufacturers outside, were unable to meet the demand. Prices advanced with great rapidity, until in many cases they had more than doubled. There is no reason to believe, however, that prices would not have increased to a very great extent—possibly even to quite as great an extent—had there been no Combination formed. One must beware of ascribing all changes in the margin between the raw and the finished products to the Combination itself. Change might even be due to an increased cost of production brought about by an advance in wages.

III.

Applying these general considerations regarding the statistics of margin between prices to more special cases, we cannot, perhaps, do better than to interpret for ourselves some of Mr. Thurber's figures. On page 679 of the May number of the REVIEW he gives the average annual prices of raw and refined sugar per pound, together with the margin of difference between the two from 1879 to March, 1901, inclusive. Comparing, then, this margin for nine years preceding the formation of the Trust with the period of nine years following it, he finds that it has decreased from 1.55 cents per pound to .98 cent per pound. He also calls attention to the absolute lowering of the price of the refined product from 8.81 cents in 1879 and 9.80 cents in 1880 to 4½ cents and 5 cents during the last few years. Regarding the absolute

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fall of the price of the finished product, no further comment need be made than has been made in the consideration of the prices of refined petroleum, with the added observation that the reduction of the tariff about 2 cents a pound reduced the price to that extent. The consideration of the margin of prices should, however, be somewhat more complete.

The Sugar Trust, which with varying form has remained the most powerful factor in the sugar market since its organization, began business in the fall of 1887. Mr. Thurber's table shows that, for some years before that date, the margin between the prices of raw and refined sugars had been falling quite rapidly, and during the years 1886 and 1887 had reached the point of .71 cent and .64 cent per pound. At that date, this margin seems to have been in many instances unremunerative, inasmuch as several sugar refineries failed during those two years. Immediately after the formation of the Trust, however, the margin increased more than .50 cent to 1.25 and 1.32 cents. If, instead of average annual prices, monthly prices were given, it would be noted that, in particular months, the margin had increased more than one cent a pound. With this increased margin, sugar-refining became so profitable that Claus Spreckels established large rival refineries, particularly in Philadelphia, and began active competition. The result of this competition is shown by the margin falling in the years 1890 and 1891 to .70 and .73 cent per pound. The effect of this vigorous competition was to lead or to force the Combination to buy up the rival refineries, and then, as was to be expected, the margin was immediately put back again to 1.03 cents in 1892 and 1.15 cents in 1893. From that time on the margin remained considerably above the competitive margin of, say, .65 to .75 cent, until in the latter part of the year 1898, when, owing again to the temptation of the large profits made by the Sugar Combination, new competition started up, especially that of Arbuckle Brothers and Claus Doscher. The effect of this competition is again seen at once in a fall of the margin to .73 cent and during the year 1889 to .50 cent. The details of the business during the last year or two are not fully known, but the margin has been decidedly increased—first to .75 cent in 1900 and during the early part of 1901 to .90 cent per pound; and it seems to be generally conceded that some sort of more or less formal agreement between the Combination and most of the

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rivals has been effected, which amounts to a practical extension of the Combination.

The only trustworthy way to judge statistics is to follow them carefully through from year to year—or, better, still, from month to month—and note the variations with the circumstances accompanying them. By taking periods of nine years before and nine years after the formation of the Trust, Mr. Thurber has been able to show a decided reduction of the margin. To reach this result, one must include a period of active competition when the "Trust" was not in control of the market. Had he taken a period of four years before and four years after, he would have shown only a very slight reduction from 1.0375 to 1. If he had taken a period of three years before and after, the margin would have been increased from .896 + to 1.09; and a period of two years before and after (*i. e.,* the period which first shows the Trust's control), would have given an increase from .675 to 1.285. By considering the prices from year to year, as has been done above, it appears proved beyond question that the influence of the Combination has been, as a matter of fact, to hold the margin considerably higher than it was during the period of fierce competition which preceded the organization of the Trust, and to keep the margin at rates which make very high profits except during the periods, relatively brief, of vigorous competition, which have followed as a principal consequence of these very high profits. The Trust has been in existence now something over thirteen and a half years. During that time there has been only between four and five years in which competition could be said to be really active. During about two-thirds of the time, therefore, the combination has been able to secure prices that may fairly be considered to a considerable degree monopolistic.

Notwithstanding the above facts, many of the advocates of the Sugar Combination, and even some of its rivals, are of the opinion that the prices during the last twelve or thirteen years have averaged lower than would have been the case had the Combination not been formed. They reason as follows: The margin during the two years before the organization of the Trust was so low that business was not profitable, and several refineries failed. Had the Combination not been effected, still others would have been driven into bankruptcy, until only the few strongest remained. As they would probably have been unable to supply

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the normal demands of the country at low rates, prices, they say, would comparatively soon have gone up, and that to a point considerably higher than the one fixed by the Trust. Of course, it is always impossible to determine what might have been; but there is certainly a degree of plausibility in the suggestion. The line of argument might be carried even farther. Had prices gone to the higher point thus supposed, that would certainly have led, within a comparatively short time, to the building of new refineries to meet the increased demand, and the competition among these would soon have driven prices down again to an unremunerative point, which would again have driven into bankruptcy several of the weaker refineries; and thus would begin a see-saw between high and low prices, periods of prosperity and bankruptcy. These results have, it might be urged, been evaded by a single Combination, which has prevented any one from going into bankruptcy, but which has, instead, paid regular seven per cent. dividends on its preferred stock, twelve per cent. dividends on its common stock, until within the last year or two, besides laying by a surplus, and that on a capitalization often considered excessive. But, while we cannot tell what would have been the case under other circumstances, we do know that the margin has been very decidedly larger during the periods when competition has been slight than when it has been most active; and we know also that, as a consequence of this increased margin, sugar refining has been an extremely profitable business.

In the case of the Standard Oil Company, as we have seen, the margin did not increase, but the rate of decrease lessened at once in spite of improved methods, and of late has increased, although the cost of manufacture has increased somewhat.

A similar study of the margin between the cost of raw materials and finished product, in the case of several leading industries in which industrial Combinations have been very important factors, and in which it seems possible to make a careful study of the margin, owing to the simplicity of the methods of production, leads in nearly every case to a like conclusion. The consolidation has usually followed a period of very vigorous competition, when the margin has been driven to a low point. The immediate result of the Combination is, practically invariably, a decided increase in the margin. Sometimes, as the years go by, the margin actually falls and remains at as low or lower a point

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than during the period of competition. Under these circumstances, of course, the methods of production have, in all probability, enabled the Combination to make this lowering of the margin and still retain normal profits. Or, in other cases, the Combination has not been able to get a sufficient control of the market to give it any monopolistic power, but it remains simply one of the large manufacturers, with several competitors of substantially equal strength. For example, the Standard Rope and Twine Company, among cordage manufacturers, along certain lines of its products, ranks only as second or third, and probably on the whole does little more business than two or three of its chief rivals. This conclusion regarding the actual effect of the Combination, based on facts and statistics given in most cases by the Combinations themselves, seems undeniable; and almost any person in quiet conversation with members of Combinations will find these conclusions confirmed. Under such circumstances, the position is frequently frankly taken by officers of Combinations that the margin is, of course, increased. What was the Combination made for? But this statement is also frequently accompanied by the further equally reasonable and generally accepted one that the Combinations hope to make many improvements in the methods of production, so that their profit can ultimately be increased without any increase to the consumer in the price of the finished product. In other words, the Combinations assert that sometimes, by lessening the cost of manufacture, they can increase their profits without increasing the margin; but the conclusion is irresistible that, if the margin increases, the profit has certainly increased, at the expense of either the consumer of the finished product or of the producer of the raw material. Improvements in the methods of production may increase the profit without affecting the prices of either the finished product or of the raw material. If the consumers are to secure the benefits of these improvements, however, such benefits must come through a lessening of the margin.

I do not wish to make the contention that, in all cases, this increase of the margin is not amply justified by business conditions. It may very well be that, in many cases, competition before the organization of the Combination has been so ruinous that it has not only affected unfavorably the contestants themselves, but also many others in other lines of business dependent

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upon these. Although certain consumers may have temporarily profited by such destructive competition, it may easily enough have been carried so far that it has been decidedly injurious to the industrial community as a whole. We have, however, as yet, not been considering the question of the benefit or injury of the community. It is, however, right to consider with some care the social effect of these changes in prices.

IV.

So far as the Industrial Combinations, by virtue of their better organization, are able to make savings in the cost of production, they thereby create a new fund of wealth. They "make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before." Upon the distribution of this fund depends to a considerable extent the social effects of the Combination. Other things being equal, these savings will go, in the first instance, to the capitalist employer in the form of increased profit.

If the laborers are well organized, or are insistent in their claims, they will probably be able to persuade the employer that it is for his interest to increase their wages, giving them thereby a share in this newly created fund. During a time of prosperity, the capitalist is not likely to risk to any great extent a stoppage of his work and consequent loss, unless the demands of the laborers are unreasonably great.

If, on the other hand, owing to what seems to be the increased profits, other outside institutions see ways of making similar savings, they will probably start up a new competition which will cut prices down, and this social fund created by the improved methods of production will go to the public at large, in the way of lower prices. In any event, industrial society is benefited. But the nature of the benefit, in the three cases mentioned above, will be entirely different.

If the saving goes primarily to the capitalist, in the way of increased profit, it may either affect his standard of living, or it may be reinvested in other lines of industry as new capital. If he changes his standard of living, will it improve or injure society? If the surplus is put into the form of capital invested in other productive lines of business, so far as they are well managed, the result is ordinarily considered of absolute benefit to the community. Is this the best possible use to make of it?

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If this fund made by the saving of the Combination were to go entirely to the wage earners in increased wages, the social effect would depend again upon their method of consumption. Would they waste it to the detriment of society; or would it be used to give them added refinements in living, to improve the education of their children, to raise their standard of living so that they would be both more healthy and more productive workers? Or would they deposit it in Savings Banks and other similar institutions through which it might work its way again into productive capital?

If this fund goes to the public at large, in the form of lower prices, similar questions arise. So far as the goods consumed are those that tend directly to the improvement of society at large, there is a distinct social benefit. So far as the articles in question are misused, or used detrimentally to the consumer, society is injured. It seems to be the opinion of most writers on social questions, that Society will, on the whole, be most uplifted by having the general standard of living of the poorer classes raised, rather than by added expenditure on the part of the rich, or even by added reinvestments in business. If this is a proper conclusion, one might, perhaps, say that the savings of the Industrial Combinations would have the best social effects if they did not serve to increase the profits of the employer beyond a moderately steady dividend on his investment, but went chiefly either in the form of increased wages, or perhaps more directly to the benefit of the whole community, in the form of lower prices.

V.

If the profits of Industrial Combinations come primarily not through their saving in the cost of production, but through their monopolistic power of control over either the raw material, resulting in lower prices for that, or over the finished product as shown in higher prices, the result will be different. Under those circumstances, the fund secured by the manager of the Combination is not one created anew. It is not a case of "making two blades of grass grow where one grew before." It is simply a transfer of wealth from the pockets of either the producer of the raw material or of the consumers of the finished product to the pockets of the managers of the Combination. This cannot be said, in the first instance, to be in any sense an industrial benefit. It is, of course, possible that the monopolists may make a better

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use of the wealth thus secured than would be made were the wealth left in the hands of the other parties. This, however, is not likely. In this case, also, there is an opportunity, of course, for the wage earners to secure part of the benefit of this transfer of wealth, if they can force their employers to raise their wages. But it is evident that the great mass of consumers can receive no benefit whatever in their capacity of consumers. One can imagine, of course, that the benefits secured by the Combination through lowering the price of the raw material will be given back to Society again through lower prices of the finished product, but it is probably fair to assume that this will not be done, so long as the Combination exercises any real power.

Again, it is entirely possible that a Combination, even with a good degree of monopolistic power, may think it wise not to increase but to lower prices, and to hold them steady. Cases might readily be cited in which this has been done.

VI.

The sum of the whole matter, then, is this: So far as the Combinations exert a monopolistic power over prices, and sometimes they have this power to a limited degree, the result is in all probability usually, but not always, directly injurious to Society. So far as they are able to effect savings by less expenditure of industrial energy, these savings are directly beneficial to Society. They may in no way affect prices immediately, but be retained by the capitalist or divided between him and the working man; or they may—and this is probably the best social result—be distributed through the community immediately in the form of lower prices. So far as experience goes, it seems to show that, so far the chief benefit has been retained by the capitalist, the laborers have secured a small part, the great mass of the consumers in some instances none of the benefits, in others part. The general tendency, however, through the beneficent influence of competition, either actual or potential, seems to be in the direction of giving to the consumers a larger part of this fund in the future, although both the Combinations and the wage earners are likely to retain some benefit. The even more important question, as to the ultimate result upon Society of the changed distribution of wealth coming from the influence of Industrial Combinations on prices, has been only hinted at above. It merits careful study.

JEREMIAH W. JENKS.

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THE OUTLOOK FOR CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE REV. WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D. D., LL. D.

WHAT are the prospects of the Christian religion? What promise has it of retaining its hold upon the human race, and extending its influence over the thought and life of men?

Voices which are supposed to be influential are frequently heard asserting the decadence of Christianity, and predicting its speedy disappearance. That assertion and that prediction have been many times repeated, from the days of Celsus down to Bolingbroke and Diderot and Voltaire. In the meantime, the geographers have continued to find a place for Christianity on their maps, and the statisticians do not appear to be able to treat it as a neglectable quantity.

We are warned against putting our trust in figures. Numerical estimates of the growth of a religious system are not, indeed, conclusive. Its product must be weighed as well as counted. Yet the figures which show the expansion of Christianity as a world power can hardly be disregarded. For the early periods we have only estimates; but it is at least an approximation to the truth to say that, at the end of the first century, there were in the world about five millions of nominal Christians; at the end of the tenth century, ten millions; at the end of the fifteenth, one hundred millions; at the end of the eighteenth, two hundred millions; at the end of the nineteenth, five hundred millions. The last century has added to the adherents of Christianity almost three times as many as were added during the first fifteen centuries. The rate of progress now is far more rapid than at any other period during the Christian era.

The population of the world is growing. The estimates are that, whereas in 1786 the dwellers on this planet numbered 954,000,000, in 1886 they were 1,483,000,000, an increase of

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fifty-four per cent. But the nominal Christians had increased during the same period more than one hundred per cent. The political strength of Christendom is not, however, represented by these figures. In 1786, a little more than one-third of the people of the world were under the government of Christian nations, and a little less than two-thirds were under the control of non-Christian nations; in 1886, fifty-five per cent. of the larger population were under Christian rule, and only forty-five per cent. under non-Christian rule.

The geographers put it in this way: In 1600, the inhabited surface of the earth measured about 43,798,600 square miles; of these, Christians occupied about 3,480,900, and non-Christians 40,317,700. In 1894, the number of square miles inhabited is reckoned at 53,401,400, of which Christians are holding 45,619,-100 and non-Christians 8,782,300.

These facts do not encourage the expectation that Christianity is about to disappear from the face of the earth. If the external signs could be trusted, there would be good reason for believing that the day is not far distant when it will take full possession of the earth.

We have been speaking of the political and geographical expansion of nominal Christianity—of the populations and the areas which are under the dominion of races and rulers who call themselves by the Christian name. It is to be remembered that, while nearly two-thirds of the world's population is now controlled by Christian Powers, a large proportion of those under this control are not even nominal Christians. The governments of non-Christian races, as in India and Egypt and Siam, have been overthrown and supplanted by governments of the Christian Powers. But nearly 500,000,000, or more than a third of the world's population, now bear the Christian name, and accept, in some more or less intelligible way, Christian theories and ideals.

Among these hundreds of millions there are many and various standards of belief and conduct. None of the great religions has a uniform cult or a single type of morality; Christianity is as far from this uniformity as any of the others. In different races it has taken on different characters; if certain fundamental beliefs are universal, many variants of thought and sentiment appear in the different tribes and tongues. Perhaps Christianity follows the evolutionary laws, and employs variation

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as one of the elements of progress. It may be that its natural result is the production of a great variety of theories and practices, and that it depends on natural or spiritual selection to preserve the best.

Besides a number of minor sects, such as the Abyssinians, the Copts, the Armenians, the Nestorians and the Jacobites, numbering in all four or five millions, we have the three grand divisions of Christendom—the Holy Orthodox Greek Church, with 98,000,000 of adherents; the Protestant churches, with an aggregate of 143,000,000, and the Roman Catholic Church, with 230,000,000. No statistics are at hand showing the relative growth of the number of adherents of these three great divisions. But the growth of the populations under their rule is thus set forth by comparison: The Roman Catholics, in the year 1500, were ruling over 80,000,000 of people; in 1700, over 90,000,000, and in 1891, over 242,000,000. The Greek Catholics, in 1500, were governing 20,000,000; in 1700, 33,000,000, and in 1891, 128,000,000. The Protestants, in 1500, had not begun to be; in 1700, they held sway over 32,000,000, and in 1891, over 520,000,000. In the four centuries, the political power of the Roman Catholics has more than trebled, that of the Greeks has been multiplied by six, and that of the Protestants has sprung from nothing to a control of one-third of the world's population. It is easy to see which of these grand divisions is expanding most rapidly.

More important and more difficult is the question concerning the intellectual and moral progress of these three great sections of Christendom. It would be natural to judge that they must all be alive; such growth as they all report is a sign of life.

If we could trust Count Tolstoy, the Holy Orthodox Greek Church is not only moribund, but rotten. To this merciless idealist its shortcomings are crimes; no judgment more unsparing has been uttered since the days of John the Baptist than that with which he scourges the church in which he was reared. There must be some truth in this terrible arraignment; yet one cannot be quite confident that Tolstoy's criticisms are always judicial. Something there must be of saving power in this national church; the Russian people could not possess the moral vigor which their history constantly reveals if their religious life were as inane and degrading as Tolstoy paints it. As a writer of the last century said:

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"One must actually stand in the Kremlin and Troitza before he fully realizes what a mighty, although latent, power the Greek Church still is, and how great a part it may have to play in the drama of human history. Inert, abject, superstitious, full of abuses, it undoubtedly is. It can hardly be said to have done anything for literature or for art; nothing, at least, that has become famous beyond its own frontier; and yet a form of religion which has supported its adherents under the successive deluges of misery which flowed over Russia during the Middle Ages, and in spite of the dull weight of wretchedness which has weighed on the Russian peasant almost up to the present hour, has made him so gentle, so enduring, so tolerant, must have some not inconsiderable merits. Its education of a thousand years must have something to do with that inexhaustible gentleness which, in the words of Schedo-Ferroti, is the base of his character; with that incomparable sweetness of temper which causes his soul to reflect everything in a way different to that which we observe in the lower classes of other nations."

With some such judgment the philosophic observer would be compelled, no doubt, to temper the heat of Tolstoy's denunciation. Yet it must be confessed that the condition of the Greek Church to-day is less hopeful than that of any of her sister churches. If our regard were fixed on Russia, we should find faint encouragement for the expectation of the coming of Christ's spiritual kingdom. The union of Church and State has resulted in the paralysis of spiritual life. The principle of Orthodoxy, which means the fixation of religious thought, has had its perfect work in Russia; withdrawal from the Established Church means disfranchisement and ostracism; and the result is deadly hypocrisy in high places, and the blight of the intellect that deals with questions of religion. Nowhere else is religious reform so much needed as in Russia. Dissenters and schismatics there are, some twelve or fifteen millions of them; and there are quiet and kindly folk among them who appear to have returned to the simplicity of Christ. Against these, the persecutions of the State Church are most bitterly waged. For the greater part, however, the schismatics and come-outers are a queer assortment, holding the most fantastic notions, and practicing some highly unsocial customs. The points in which the schismatics are at variance with the Orthodox Church are not always of great importance; some of their fiercest controversies have raged around such questions as whether the sign of the cross shall be made with two fingers or three, or whether the Hallelujah shall be said twice or thrice, or whether the cross shall have four arms or

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eight. That Christians, in the nineteenth century, should regard such matters as of sufficient importance to justify them in setting up separate sects, is only less astonishing than the fact that a State claiming to be Christian has scourged and imprisoned and slain its subjects by thousands for no other offence than adherence to these small ritual peculiarities.

The religious condition of Russia is little changed since the Middle Ages; the anomaly which it presents is that of a religious system remaining stationary, or nearly stationary, in the midst of a rapidly moving civilization. Even here, however, it is probable that a better knowledge of all conditions, past and present, would show that some progress has been made during the century. The emancipation of the serfs appears to have been inspired by Christian sentiments; the condition of the dissenting sects has been considerably ameliorated, and it would be cynical to deny that the recent overtures of the Czar for disarmament and arbitration drew part of their inspiration from the teachings of the Prince of Peace. The Russian Church has come far short of its high calling, but the light of the gospel has not been wholly extinguished, and we may hope to see a more rational and vital faith supplanting the obscurantism which so long has veiled its brightness.

The condition of the Roman Catholic Church is far more hopeful. It has had the good fortune, not altogether of its own choice, to be practically divorced, in many countries, for many years, from politics, and its freedom has resulted in a wholesome development of its life. Its intellectual and moral progress has been slowest in the countries in which it has had most to do with the government; its best gains have been made in those countries where it has been free to devote its energies to the spiritual concerns of its adherents. The Roman Catholic Church in the great Protestant countries—in Germany and England and the United States—has been making great progress; its people are receiving education; the standards of intelligence and of character are steadily rising among its clergy; it is exerting a conservative and salutary force upon the national life. With respect to what has been done for the protection of the family against the influences that are threatening its life, the Roman Catholic Church deserves all praise. During a recent lamentable recrudescence of Protestant bigotry on this continent, the moderation and wisdom

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of the Roman Catholic clergy and the Roman Catholic people won the grateful recognition of all good men. If they had not behaved much more like Christians than the zealots who filled the air with baseless lies about them, the land would have been deluged with blood. Such Roman Catholics as Kenrick and Williams and Gibbons and Ireland and Elder and Keane in this country, and Manning and Newman and Vaughan in England, represent a high order of intelligence and patriotism; and, under their wise leadership, the unhappy alienation between the two great branches of the Western Church is gradually disappearing.

It cannot be doubted that the Roman Catholic Church, as a whole, is sharing liberally in the growing light of this new day. It may be that its doctrine is technically irreformable, but interpretation is a great matter; and words may be taken, in one generation, in a very different sense from that which was given to them in a preceding generation. That the discipline of the Church is gradually changing—becoming more mild and rational, less arbitrary and despotic—can hardly be doubted.

The chief additions to dogma which have been made during the century are those proclaimed by the Vatican Council in 1870, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and the dogma of the Infallibility and Supremacy of the Pope. The first of these possesses an interest mainly academical; the second seems to have much practical significance. But the political analogies suggest that concentration of power is apt to result in the enlargement of liberty. It was monarchy, as Guizot has shown, that led in free institutions. The King took the part of the people against the feudal lords. And it is at least conceivable that the strengthening of the papal prerogative will lead to important reforms, both in the doctrine and in the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. If the present Pope were twenty years younger, such results might well be looked for during his reign. For it is doubtful whether the throne at the Vatican has ever been occupied by a pontiff of purer purpose, broader wisdom or larger charity than Leo XIII.

What, now, shall be said concerning the Protestant communions, whose numbers are so rapidly increasing and whose influence is so widely extending?

The Protestant principle of the right of private judgment has resulted in the multiplication of sects. Some variety of organiza-

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tion and ritual might well have grown from the sowing of the light; but the variation which would have appeared under normal conditions has undoubtedly been increased by human selfishness and ambition. It may be doubted whether the emphasis which has been placed upon the right of private judgment expresses a sound principle. In no kind of social organization are rights or liberties the primary concern. A family in which it is the first business of every member to assert his own rights, or to magnify his liberty, will not be a united and happy family. In the organic relations of the family, love and duty are fundamental—not rights and liberties.

We may awake, by and by, to the fact that the same thing is true of the State. The attempt to base a commonwealth upon a doctrine of rights will probably result in social disintegration. A community in which it is the first business of every citizen to assert his own rights will not continue to be peaceful and prosperous. The social and political disorders which threaten the life of the nation, all spring from the fact that the people have been trained to think more of rights than of duties.

By misplacing the emphasis in the same way, Protestantism has introduced into its life a disintegrating element. Neither the right of private judgment nor any other right can be safely asserted as the foundation of the Christian Church. The foundation of the Church is loyalty to Christ and his Kingdom; all rights are to be held and interpreted under that obligation. The failure to do this—the assertion of the individual will as against the common welfare—has rent the Church into fragments and multiplied creeds and organizations far beyond all the needs of varying tastes and intellects. We may admit that this is the opprobrium of Protestantism; its power is lessened and its life is marred by these needless divisions, and by the unlovely competitions that spring from them. But the last years of the century have witnessed some serious attempts to correct these abuses; some of the separated sects have come together in unity; others are approaching each other with friendly overtures; the tendencies seem now to be toward reunion rather than division. In Great Britain the Nonconformist bodies have formed a strong federation by which they are able to act together for many common purposes, and movements are on foot to bring about a similar organization in this country. If the principle of differ-

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entiation has been over-accentuated during the nineteenth century, there is now some reason to hope that the twentieth century will reinforce the principle of integration; that loyalties will be emphasized as much as liberties, and the duty of co-operation rather more than the right of private judgment.

The past century has been a period of theological agitation and upheaval in Protestant Christendom. The progress of physical science, the rise of the evolutionary philosophy, and the development of Biblical criticism have kept the theologians busy with the work of reconstruction. Germany has been the theological storm-centre. Kant's tremendous work had been done before the century came in, but Herder and Hegel and Schleiermacher were digging away at the foundations in the early years, and those who have come after them have kept the air full of the noises of hammer and saw and chisel as the walls have been going up. Much of the theology "made in Germany" has appeared to be the product of the head rather than of the heart; formal logic deals rudely with the facts of the spiritual order. But the great theologians of the last half of the century, Dorner and Rothe and Nitzsch and Ritschl, although working on different lines, have abundantly asserted the reality of the spiritual realm; and it is now possible for the educated German to find a philosophy of religion which reconciles modern science with the essential facts of Christianity.

The most important religious movement of the nineteenth century in England is a reversion to sacramentalism, led by Newman and Pusey and William George Ward. Its ruling idea is that the sacraments have power in themselves to convey grace and salvation. This is essentially the doctrine of the old church, and the movement gradually took on the form of a reaction; the adoration of the consecrated wafer, prayers for the dead, the use of incense—various Roman Catholic practices—were adopted one by one. In due time Newman and Faber and Ward entered the Catholic communion; since their departure, the ideas and practices for which they stood have been rapidly gaining ground in the English Church. How far this doctrinal reaction is likely to go, it would not be safe to predict. But it must be said of the High Church party that it is not wasting all its energies upon vestments and ceremonies; it is taking hold, in the most energetic manner, of the problems of society; in hand to hand work

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with the needy and degraded classes it is doing more, perhaps, than has ever been done by any other branch of the Christian Church in England.

The remainder of the Protestants of Great Britain—the Broad Churchmen, the Nonconformists, the Scotch Presbyterians of the Established Church and of the United Free Church—with the entire Protestant body of the United States, have been subject to similar influences, and have been passing through similar theological transitions. Some branches of the Protestant Church have been greatly affected by the prevailing scientific and critical inquiries, and some have been less disturbed by them, but the intellectual ferment has reached most of them; and modifications, more or less radical, have been made in all their creeds.

These theological changes are not wholly due to the new conceptions of the world and of man which modern science has introduced. Some of them, and these not the least important, are the fruit of a purified ethical judgment. The dogmas of the Church, as Sabatier has shown, spring from the life of the Church. If the Spirit of Christ is abiding in the hearts of his disciples, their views of truth will be constantly purified and enlarged. Many of the changes in theological theory which have taken place within the past century are to be thus explained. The practical disappearance of the hard Calvinistic interpretations which were prevalent in most of the Reformed churches one hundred years ago has resulted from the cultivation of humaner feelings and from a better conception of the nature of justice. Philosophically, the change consists in the substitution of righteousness for power in our definitions of the justice of God. The old theology emphasized the sovereignty of God in such a way as to make it appear that what was central in Him was will—His determination to have His own way. "His mere good pleasure" was the decisive element in His action. This theology was the apotheosis of will. The hard fact was disguised and softened in many ways, but it was always there; that was the nerve of the doctrine. The later conceptions emphasize the righteousness of God more than His power. His justice is not chiefly His determination to have His own way; it is His determination to do right, to recognize the moral constitution which He has given to His children, and to conform to that in His dealings with them. The assumption, now-a-days, always is that of

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Abraham—that the Judge of all the earth will do right, that which will commend itself as right to the unperverted moral sense of His children. Theology has been ethicized; that is the sum of it. To-day it is a moral science; one hundred years ago it was not. This is a tremendous change; none more radical or revolutionary has taken place in any of the sciences. To be rid of theories which required the damnation of non-elect infants and of all the heathen; which imputed the guilt of our progenitors to their offspring; and which proclaimed an eternal kingdom of darkness, ruled by an evil potentate, whose ubiquity was but little short of omnipresence, whose resources pressed hard upon omnipotence, and whose access to human souls implied omniscience—is a great deliverance. The entire aspect of religion has changed within the memory of many who will read these words. We are living under a different sky, and breathing a different atmosphere. That these horrible doctrines are obsolete is manifest from the fact that the great Scotch Presbyterian Churches have explained them away, and that their American brethren are slowly making haste to be free of them. It is long since they have been preached to intelligent congregations.

The progress of Biblical criticism during the last quarter of the century has been rapid and sometimes disquieting. Much work of a somewhat fanciful character has been done, but a large number of important conclusions are accepted by most scholars. The prevailing teaching in the theological seminaries of the Evangelical Churches is, that the Bible contains a revelation from God, in historical and prophetic documents of priceless value, holding truth found nowhere else, and making known to us the Way and the Truth and the Life; but that this revelation comes through human mediation, and is not free from human imperfection; that, while its spiritual elements may be spiritually discerned, its parts are not of equal value, and that it is dangerous to impute to the whole Book an infallibility which it nowhere claims. The new conception of the Bible has undoubtedly given a shock to many devout minds, who have been accustomed to regard it with superstitious veneration; and those who have been convinced by the arguments of the critics have not all learned to use it as it was meant to be used—to draw inspiration from it, instead of reading inspiration into it. Those who will seek to be inspired by it will find that it is inspired, because it is inspiring;

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and there is reason to hope that the Bible may yet prove, under the new theories of its origin, a better witness for God than ever before. It is well that He should not any longer be held responsible for the human crudities and errors which it contains.

The great development of the natural sciences and the rise of the evolutionary theories have also had their effect upon Christian theology. That there are vast numbers of Protestant Christians who have been scarcely touched by these influences is true; but these influences are shaping the thought of the world, and it is impossible that the theology of a living church should not be profoundly affected by them. For natural science is simply telling us what God is doing in His world, and evolution is simply explaining the way in which His work is done. At bottom, all this is religious truth, of the most fundamental character; and, if Christian theology is true theology, it must include the truths of science and of evolution.

Such an inclusion makes needful some important reconstructions of theological theory. It substitutes for our mechanical theories of creation the thought of the immanent God, who, in the words of Paul, is above all and through all and in us all; nay, it gives us also that doctrine of the immanent Christ—the Logos, the infinite Reason and Love, of whom the same apostle speaks in words of such wonderful significance; "in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins; who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all Creation; for in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through Him, and unto Him; and He is before all things, and in Him all things hold together."* If the Christ-element, the element of self-sacrificing love, is the very matrix of the creation, then it ought not to surprise us if we find in nature itself the elements of sacrifice; and we do find them there, when we look for them. Over against the struggle for life is the struggle for the life of others; vicariousness is at the heart of nature. We begin to discern some deep meaning in the mystical saying that Christ represents "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," and we are able to see that He came to fulfill not merely the Levitical law, but the very law of life. All this has been, as yet, but imper-

*Col. i., 14-17.

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fectly worked out in our theological theories; but it begins to be evident that the doctrine of the Incarnation will find, in the doctrine of Evolution, an interpretation far more sublime than any which was possible under the mechanical theories of creation.

In the development of Protestantism on its intellectual side there have been losses as well as gains. Where such liberty of thinking is allowed, there will be wild and foolish thinking; it is often forgotten that the principle of reason is the principle of unity, and not of division or denial. There is a reasonless conservatism, which clings to beliefs long after they have ceased to be credible; and there is a rash radicalism, which throws away truth untested. Protestant theology has suffered from both these causes. There has always been, and there still is, much shallow thinking; and, in the transitions which have been taking place, some have lost their faith. But there is good reason for believing that the Christians of to-day have a hold as firm as those of any former day upon essential Christian truth.

On the side of life and practice, there have also been gains and losses. In some of the elements of the religious life we may be poorer than our forefathers were. There is not so much reverence now as once there was; but there is less of slavish fear. There is less intense devotional feeling; but there are also fewer cases of hopeless religious melancholy. We do not make so much of the Lord's day as men once did in some sections; that is an undoubted loss. Yet there was a gloom and restraint in that old observance which we should be slow to recall. We do not, perhaps, quite adequately estimate the amount of irreligion which prevailed in this country in the early days of the nineteenth century. A careful historical comparison would reassure those who suppose that we are in danger of losing all our religion.

The development of the Protestant Churches has been intensive, as well as extensive; the work of the local Church has greatly broadened. The Church of to-day is a far more efficient instrument for promoting the Kingdom of God in the world than was the Church of one hundred years ago. At that date the Sunday-school work was just beginning; the Church did nothing for its own members but to hold two services on a Sunday, and sometimes a week-night service. In fact, it may be said that the Church did nothing at all; all the religious work was done by the minister. The conception that the Church is a working body,

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organized for the service of the community, had hardly entered into the thought of the minister or of the members. It was rather an ark of safety, in which men found temporary shelter on their way to heaven.

The larger work, outside of its immediate fold, was not contemplated. In 1800, there was no Foreign Missionary Society in existence on this continent, and no Bible Society; a few feeble Home Missionary Societies had just been formed. There was no religious newspaper in the world. The vast outreaching work of Christian education and Christian publication had not entered into the thought of the churches. Such efficient arms of the Christian service as the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations, the Societies of Christian Endeavor and the Salvation Army are of recent origin.

What, then, shall we say of the equipment with which Christianity sets forth, at the beginning of the twentieth century, for the conquest of the world? Its geographical and political advantages have been named. What of its intellectual and spiritual resources? What of the appeal which it is prepared to make to the mind and heart of man?

It may be assumed that man is not only a political, but also a religious, animal; that religion is an everlasting reality. Some kind of religion men have always had and will always have; things unseen and eternal enter into their lives, and will always form an integral part of their experience. We can hardly look for the invention of a new religion; are any of the other existing religious systems more likely than Christianity to satisfy the needs of humanity? Each of these religious systems contains great elements of truth and power. Is any one of them better fitted than Christianity to meet the wants of the human soul?

Christianity has lost some of the weapons with which it was doing battle one hundred years ago. Its trust is not to be henceforth in an infallible Book; the arsenal of its terrors has been despoiled of much that was once a great reliance; censure and coercion can no longer be profitably employed. But, in some respects, it has been strengthened for the work before it.

The Christian doctrine has been greatly simplified. The elaborate creeds of a former day are disappearing. The metaphysical puzzles, in which so many minds were once entangled, are swept away. It is now well understood, among those who

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are the recognized leaders of Christian thought, that the essence of Christianity is personal loyalty to the Master and obedience to His law of love. Such a conception prepares the way for great unities and co-operations.

The doctrine of the divine immanence, when once its deeper implications are understood, must have important results in Christian experience. The God in whom we live and move and have our being will not need to be certified by documents or symbolized by sacraments or demonstrated by logic; our knowledge of Him will be immediate and certain. If He is, indeed, the Life of all life; if He is "more present to all things He made than anything unto itself can be;" if He is "the stream of tendency, whereby all things fulfill the law of their being;" if He is really "working in us, to will and to do of His good pleasure," then life possesses a sacredness and a significance which few of us have yet conceived. This truth sanctifies and glorifies the whole of life. It is the truth which lies at the heart of what is known as the "new theology;" and, if the Christian pulpit can but grasp it and realize it, we shall have such a revival of religion as the world has never seen.

The God who is over all and through all and in us all is known to the Christian Church of to-day as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is through the spirit that we know Him, and he is the Father of spirits; His character is revealed to us in the Life and Words of Jesus; our relation to Him is shown us in the filial trust of Jesus, and our relation to one another springs from this relation. The two truths of the divine Fatherhood and the human Brotherhood are the central truths of Christian theology to-day. This has never before been true. Men have always been calling God Father, but in their theories they have been making Him Monarch. He was as much of a Father as He could be consistently with his functions as an absolute Sovereign. The Sovereignty was the dominant fact; the Fatherhood was subordinate. All this is changed. It is believed to-day that there can be no sovereignty higher than fatherhood, and no law stronger than love.

The doctrine must have vast social consequences. When it is once fully accepted, and all that it implies is recognized and enforced, society will be regenerated and redeemed. If all men are, indeed, brothers, and owe to one another, in every relation,

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brotherly kindness; if there is but one law of human association —"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" if every man's business in the world is to give as much as he can, rather than to get as much as he can, then the drift of human society must now be in wrong directions, and there is need of a reformation which shall start from the centres of life and thought. We need not so much new machinery, as new ideals of personal obligation.

This idea that Christ has come to save the world; that his mission is not to gather his elect out of the world and then burn it up, but to establish the Kingdom of Heaven here, and that it is established by making the law of love the regulative principle of all the business of life, is practically a new idea. Many, here and there, have tentatively held it, and their faltering attempts to live by it have produced what we have had of the precious fruits of peace and good will among men. Charity and philanthropy have not been unknown; the spirit of Christ has found in them a beautiful expression; within that realm the Kingdom of Heaven has been set up. What we need to learn is the truth that the law of love governs the factory, as well as the hospital; that the statesman and the economist must reckon with it, no less than the preacher and philanthropist.

Such is the issue which the logic of events is forcing upon the Christian Church. Christianity must rule or abdicate. If it cannot give the law to society, the world has no need of it. Not by might nor by power can its empire be established; only by clear witnessing to the supremacy of love. But the time has come when there must be no faltering in this testimony. Hitherto, it has hardly dared to say that Love is King; the kingdoms of this world have been conceded to Mammon. With the dawning of the new century comes the deepening conviction that the rule of Mammon never can bring order and peace; and it begins to be credible that the way of the Christ is the way of life, for industry as well as for charity, for nations as well as for men.

That the principle of the Christian morality is the foundation of the social order, and that society will never be at peace until it rests on this foundation is the claim which Christianity is now prepared to make. The ground of our hope for the continuance and prevalence of the Christian religion lies in the conviction that it will be able to make good this claim.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

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AN EARLIER AMERICAN.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

NEXT to writing one's own autobiography, there is probably no pleasure literature can give greater than reading that of some one else. If this forms a study of one's own period, country and condition, then the pleasure is heightened to the level of the rapture which comes from seeing one's likeness in any form. The resemblance need not be very close; one readily ekes it out in the good points with a little imagination, and frankly disowns it where it is unflattering. In fact, one prefers, in the autobiographer, the sort of general similarity such as suggests itself through contemporaneity and parity of circumstance, and rather likes the difference of personal experience.

I.

There was a far greater parity of circumstance among the Americans of Mr. William J. Stillman's time than exists among Americans now; but few even of his time could compete with him in the range of his experience, and fewer still, perhaps, could know his life without feeling akin to him in the traditions which formed a type of American now past, or rapidly and irrevocably passing. He was of a New England stock, in which the inherited Puritanism was condensed and intensified by the narrowness of a minute sect. He was born and bred a Seventh Day Baptist, and nurtured in the fear of God by parents who feared His exacting jealousy so much that they distrusted themselves in their natural love of their children, and crucified it in the unsparing severity of their family discipline. They were poor; the father was a ship-carpenter and fisherman, and the mother, of somewhat gentler origin, was of the same

* "The Autobiography of a Journalist." By William James Stillman. In two volumes. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1901.

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condition; and when they left Rhode Island and settled in eastern New York, they escaped neither from their poverty nor from their piety. There could be nothing more pathetic than the study of this in the mother by the youngest of her sons, whom it was her anguish to chasten in the fear of her awful God. But at Schenectady the boy was at least near to the heart of primitive nature. He began to know the woods, and to find there the sympathy which he returned with passion. He began to find himself there, a dreamer and, later, a painter; and after rebelling against the iron rule of his home by running away from it, he came back to comparative freedom from the rod. He went to school, and to the local college, and then he taught school; but all the time, before he had yet fairly conceived of art, he felt the artistic instinct stirring within him. An elder brother had prospered, and the means of sending the boy for study abroad were found. He saw London and Paris, and when he returned to America, he took up his life as a painter of the woods he knew as intimately as a trapper or hunter, and which he portrayed with absolute fidelity in a fanatical acceptance of the Preraphaelite superstition. He left painting a while to conduct an art journal, famous in its day; and when *The Crayon,* which had done as much for letters as the arts, came to its inevitable end, he found himself launched as a journalist, and got back to his painting only to convince himself that he was not an artist.

In the first years of the Civil War, after in vain offering himself as a soldier, he went as consul to Rome, and was later removed from that post and sent to Crete, where he arrived at the beginning of the revolt against the Turks in the latter eighteen-sixties. He was at home in revolution; he had already indulged its wildest romance on a mission from Kossuth to the Hungarian patriots; and now he served the Cretans so well, within the bounds of duty to his own government and good faith with the Turks, that these offered him employment in their service after his consulate passed from him. He had taken up his sojourn in Athens, where, when his wife died, the city made the funeral a public function, as a sign of the honor and love in which the Greeks held him and his, and the Turkish service was impossible to him. He remained poor through all, and dependent on the work which so often failed him, and in search of which he passed back and forth between Europe and America, till the London *Times* recog-

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nized the unique value of his talent and knowledge, and made him its controlling representative in Italy. There he remained till he felt himself superannuated, when he resigned his office to pass the leisure of his age in England, where he still lives, an eager witness of results, complete and incomplete, which were part of his experience while they were still causes and processes.

II.

I shall probably not persuade many of the young and innocent (I will not say ignorant) people, who are presently giving their fresh minds to the absorption of our annals in the form of fiction, that this story of a peculiarly American life has all the charm of romance and all the value of history. But if I could only attract a few of them to it—say half a million or so—I should feel surer of my usefulness as a critic than I am always able to feel. I myself prefer that part of the story which relates to the earlier life of the author, and which is mainly psychological in its interest; but the whole book has the attraction of a comprehensive intelligence, an inflexible conscience, and an unsparing frankness concerning both the author and others, which find expression in a transparent and unaffected style. This characterizes the work throughout, and so does the curious union of personal intensity and intellectual detachment with which the book is written, and which relates itself equally to his private and his public career. By means of it, the status at Rome in the last years of Pius IX., or the last years of King Humbert, is as vividly presented and as clearly analyzed as the Turkish conditions during the author's Cretan consulship, or the facts of his childhood and youth in Schenectady, or those of his art study in London and Paris. The episode of his subjection to Ruskin and his emancipation from Ruskin's influence is told with neither more nor less fervor than that of the oppression of his home and his escape from it. Which is cold and which is hot, his heart or his head, it would not always be easy to say; the reader cannot immediately be sure of the author's impartiality, but finally of his justice he can be tolerably sure. Events and persons are shown in that mixture of mean and great, good and bad, which forms the complexion of reality, and may be pretty safely trusted, when all is said and done, as a fair likeness, though there might be likenesses quite as fair, which would be

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quite different. It seems to me that the glimpse of Kossuth, in his willingness to use the young enthusiast for his purposes, and then to disown his action, is a case in point.

But, of course, the main thing in autobiography is the author's portrait of himself; and Mr. Stillman cannot be said to flatter his own. He lets his errors and defects be seen; and, in the record of his life of struggle, he is fair to the friends who made themselves his allies and helped him to win the fight. It is no easy matter to do so, for the man who is content with little is peculiarly tempted to mistake his willingness to go without much for an ability to go without anything. But Mr. Stillman, who seems to have an ideal indifference to the objects of sordid ambition, does not make this mistake. Some of the most inspiring records of his varied past bear witness to the practical sympathy which an ideal life appeals to in those unable to live it themselves. He found this again and again in those of his own home, and in those of that home of the race, the world. His friends he recognizes as frankly as his foes; and, since these foes of his are all dead, and cannot be offended by his remembrance, there is something even amusing in the mediæval immortality of his rancor. He recalls Benvenuto Cellini in his rancor, and his whole sincerity as a man and as an autobiographer is probably attested by nothing so much.

We are sometimes apt to put on an hypocrisy concerning those no longer alive to injure us, which we mistake for a magnanimous relenting; but Mr. Stillman does not fall into any such error, though he may possibly have overdone justice in the case of some obscure offenders, who would now be forgotten if they could have been forgiven. Still, there is no great harm, and the effect is one which could not well be spared in his self-portraiture. The picture is Preraphaelite in its fidelities, as Preraphaelite as those transcripts from nature, from which, when he found them taken for mechanical representations of the fact, he paused in his artistic ambition with question whether he was or was not an artist, and in the persistent doubt, finally relinquished his art altogether. It is for the critic of art to decide from his paintings, whether he was right or wrong; but I think there can be no question of the historical value of the study he has made in himself of an American type which is one of the most distinctive contributions to the gallery of national types.

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III.

Next in value to the self-portraiture of the author are the portraits of his father and mother, Americans shaped by influences which now seem extinct among us, but not more extinct than those which shaped the author himself. His mother, as happens, or used to happen, so often with us, was the intelligence, which operated itself through the character of the father as well as her own; but they were powers strictly co-ordinate, and his will was as often law over her. He could say to his son, and mean it, that he would rather see him in his grave than in a dancing-school, and that he would not have him "eat the bread of idleness," as he seemed to be doing when the mystical forces at work in the boy were moving him to ends unimaginable to the hard-headed carpenter. She was even more austere, but it was she who battled for his future with the father, and won for the boy such chance as he had in school and college. The anguish which underlay her austerity, and which was the effect of the continual struggle between her tender affection and her cruel religion, could not hide itself from her son. He knew that she suffered with him in the punishments she inflicted, and he drew from the deep sources of her piety a lasting trust and belief in Providence: a providence different, indeed, from that she worshipped, but as constant to human need. He affirms this again and again with the mysticism which is one of the fascinations of his story.

The America which he typifies was the reaction from a yet earlier America, which apparently came to an end in such character as that of his parents. But a reaction is never a complete severance: it is oftener an affirmation of identity, and the America of 1850-60 had far more in common with that of 1800 than with that of 1900. Between 1850 and 1900, events have fixed a gulf toward which the uninterrupted course of evolution in the earlier half century did not even seem tending. The America of that time, now obscured by a wholly different ideal, was a growth from the still earlier time; and though it had escaped the terrible religiosity of the past, and had set its heart upon beauty as it understood beauty with an ardor we no longer know, it was still with a wish to realize truth, if not faith, in conduct.

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It was very small, very remote, very provincial and almost comically earnest, that America which such a story as Mr. Stillman's rehabilitates for the imagination. It wished to cultivate itself, to refine itself; it believed that there was a moral government of the universe, and that it had a soul which should live after death, and might return here to haunt terrestrial chairs and tables. It wished to go to Italy and see the old masters, to London and meet the great poets and novelists, to Germany and study philosophy, to Paris and learn the world. Its ambitions and aspirations were such as prevail now with the lower middle classes, and which permeate the basis of society, but do not rise to its superstructure. The case is not so much that it has passed away, that old America, but that it has escaped from us to the alien and the stranger, as it seems at least to the elderly reader in whose consciousness this most suggestive book has reanimated its presence. It exists still for the American of Irish, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, Russian race, it will always exist while there is adversity in the world; and the type may be merely passing from us to those other peoples who are economically and socially subject to us, and in whom it may be varied through their traditions beyond our recognition, but will remain essentially the same. It will be varied also by the want of the earlier elbow-room, in which the American who failed at one thing could turn his hand to something else, and was often overtempted to do so merely because he tired of the first thing. In our modern conditions, it will be increasingly difficult for a man to leave being a painter to become the editor of an art journal, and then to leave that and become a consul with diplomatic duties of delicacy and importance, and then represent different great newspapers at high events, and accomplish a "beat" with the zeal and nerve of a young man; and after sundry reversions to his own country, to end his many activities as the correspondent of the first journal of Europe, at the most important centre of news in Europe. But through the flexibility of our past conditions, this could be the experience of an American of Mr. Stillman's make in Mr. Stillman's day; and it, or the like of it, was so often the experience of the former American, that the versatile and adventurous type, as often constant to a generous ideal as not, was the national type.

It is a type which you may like or you may not like; our

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author is concerned only with imparting the sense of it, and I think he will freshly interest the reader in it. I am not so sure that I shall make the reader agree with me in my fancy that it became obsolescent in the immediate past, or, say, that epoch which ended beyond recall in the Spanish War. The events that have followed that war seem to imply the close of the peculiar mission of America to mankind. We shall probably be richer and we shall be stronger even than we are now, but the American shall hardly again be the son of the morning, toward which the struggling peoples turned their eyes with the hope at least of sympathy. There is a logic as relentless for nations as for men; the tree brings forth fruit after its kind; so long ago as 1850, when Kossuth came, crazily hoping for help from us in the Hungarian revolt against Austria, he found himself denied by the slaveholding South which ruled the non-slaveholding North. Wealth and power can sympathize only with wealth and power, and freedom, so far as it remains ours, will never again shriek when Kosciusko falls.

But will the Americans of the future be men of as eager initiative as the Americans of the past? Was there some virtue in early privation and struggle and long adversity, more vital than the incentive from what we call advantages; and was a man more fitted to fulfill himself, or to get the most out of his gifts, by being born poor, and bred a Seventh Day Baptist, under the rigor of the unspared and unsparing rod, and forced to rend from life the chance of art? Cannot we, except upon some such terms as these, live or long to live in the ideal; and what then is the ideal? Largely speaking, it is the heart's desire, the thing one would give up everything else for and willingly lose the world. It is the love of a cause, an art or a science. But need we any longer give up everything else for any of these? Have we not reasonably the hope that the heart's desire may now be attained at less cost, at no cost at all? If we have relegated to Americans of other race, religion, tradition, the old American ideal, have we therefore forbidden ourselves to live in the ideal, after some new fashion? *Must* we live hard, in order to think high? Study by the fire of the cabin hearth, snow through the roof, washing at the pump, breakfasting on corn bread and pickled pork, bare feet in summer and chilblains in winter, formed the prefatory incidents in the history of so many great

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Americans that they have established themselves in the imagination as the conditions of greatness; but a careful scrutiny of the context might not find them so. They have now their versions mainly in the experiences of the foreign tenement-house dwellers, and if they are the conditions of American greatness we must look to the tenement houses for our future distinction, or else we must more and more accept the sort of distinction which does not proceed from achievement.

IV.

It is a curious effect of adversity, or privation, or downright destitution, that those who have known it, if they no longer know it, look back upon it with a tenderness which turns to indignation when any sort of discredit seems cast upon it. Many Americans of the generation when poverty seemed the whole condition of living in the ideal, must have felt personally wounded when, a little while ago, an American admiral advised a shipmate of low degree against promotion, because whatever his achievement, he was liable some time to find himself in circumstances, especially in alien waters, where his early want of social advantages might embarrass him among better-born or better-bred officers of other navies. Napoleon's ideal of *la carrière ouverte aux talents* was apparently not so much this American's but that he could see some difficulties in its realization; but though his reasoning logically impugned the efficiency of Franklin in the atmosphere of a court so different as that of Louis XVIth's from the air of a printing office, and implied that Lincoln would have been more adequately a president if he had not grown up a farm-hand and a flat-boatman, yet one could not blame the admiral for want of sincerity or, finally, for want of right. He really was right in the point he made, and not the less right because a man of more tact might not have made it. The question remains, however, whether the point was important enough to be urged, or, in other words, whether the realities or the unrealities are the ideal thing. If the ideal thing for all officers of our navy is to meet the officers of other navies on the plane of an equal social past, then we had better not open the career to the talents there; but if the ideal is being able to blow inimical officers out of the water in a sea-fight, then a promoted gunner might very fitly be in command. The admiral could answer, of

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course, that the ideal thing was for an American officer to be socially the equal of his brother-enemies, and also to be able on occasion to blow them out of the water.

Most Americans of a past generation would insist that the ability to blow your enemies out of the water was the essential, and equality in the exchange of international civilities a matter of no great moment. They might be right and they might be wrong; but, if wrong, it is up to the American of the newer order to show how one may have had all the advantages, and not lost touch with those who have had all the disadvantages. That, in the large way and in the small way, was once supposed to be the meaning of America. If it is no longer her meaning, and if she has become like unto the thrones, principalities and powers which deny the unity of men, then it is up to her younger children to prove that she has gone forward and not backward, or that it is as practicable to live in the ideal under the new conditions as under the old.

It will not do to insist that it is wholly impracticable; and the philosophical observer will guard himself against any sort of hasty conclusion from premises which may be significant to others of quite different things. His duty in this will not be less because his difficulty will be great in overcoming in himself the generous dread each passing generation feels that the next is not going to be like it. While we really must put trust in the moral government of the universe, there is nothing that gives us more anxiety than the order of an all-wise Providence. The world is in its keeping, and yet the world, in the apprehension of every man who has lived to be sixty years old, has apparently always been going to the bad. It is very droll as well as very sad, to reflect that at this very moment, doubtless, the great majority of Americans who have reached their grand climacteric are desolated by the bleak conviction that they are the last of the true Americans; and the worst of it is, they have only too much reason to think so, if the writer may, without sharing their impiety, make an admission that so clearly gives away his epoch. Once in our national consciousness, at least, to the mystification of the unbelieving and impenitent world outside, we stood for something different from anything a people had stood for before. Call it universal liberty or instinctive justice, or even by the tedious name of humanity, it was something novel and brave and gen-

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erous, and it differenced us from all the monarchies limited and unlimited, the conquerors, the oppressors. Of course, there were very obvious breaks in our celestial panoply, such as a matter of six or eight million slaves, but as long as we went confidently about convicting other nations of sin and teaching the straight and narrow way by precept, if not altogether by practice, it was imputed to us for righteousness in their muddy imaginations, and we were able to keep a very fair sort of conscience; not perfectly clean, but reasonably easy. The illusion, if it was an illusion, was what Ibsen would have called our national life-lie, but it fostered our self-respect; it honored our origin, at once so high and so humble, and was favorable to the ambition of such of us as meant noble achievement, while keeping faithfully to the tradition of poverty and its implication of self-denial.

V.

Perhaps we can still trust in Providence to be true to responsibilities not rashly assumed in the creation of the world. All the good in the world did not perish with our fathers who had such admirable sons; and have we been so wasteful of our patrimony as to have none of it left to hand down to the next generation? It may be allowed that to live in the ideal is increasingly difficult, but it is always possible. Once it implied privation and distasteful toil; but it may not have necessarily implied those things; and the good time may now have come when it implies them no longer. It may be practicable now to live in the ideal amidst all the comforts and luxuries with which the average man has nowhere so richly surrounded himself as in America. This ideal life, like that of the past, must be a life of self-denial, but why should not one lead it by crossing one's selfish impulses for good? If one hated, say, fashion and play and show, and loved simplicity and work and quiet, one could as truly deny one's self by going in for the things one hated, as if they were virtues; and there may already be many martyrs of this sort in the world. One might like to be friendly and equal with everybody and yet oblige one's self to a stiff hauteur. One might wish to give away one's millions, and yet hold on to them in the face of all sorts of worthy charities. One might be ashamed of one's superfluities in conditions where there is so much want, and yet not abate them. All this would not be exactly the old life in the

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ideal, but it might be the highest kind of self-denial, which was the beginning of that life.

One of the most delightful chapters of Mr. Stillman's book is that dealing with the Adirondack Club, which he formed of Emerson, Lowell, Agassiz and other lights of New England literature and science, and led into the wilderness so intimately known to him; and one of the most delightful episodes of this chapter is that recounting the greeting which the Adirondack backwoodsmen gave their adoptive fellow citizen. They ignored the poets and philosophers, but they compared Agassiz with a photograph they had of him, and when their leader had identified him beyond mistake, they each silently shook hands with him and so welcomed him to the wilderness, not because he was the greatest living scientist, but because he had refused Louis Napoleon's splendid offer of a senatorship if he would come to Paris, and had chosen to abide with America in the love of freedom.

Possibly if some idealist of the type which I have not, I am afraid, been very successfully forecasting, went to the backwoods now he might receive a like welcome. The difficulty would be in finding any such idealizing backwoodsmen to give it; and this may be the saddest part of it all.

W. D. HOWELLS.

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